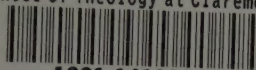


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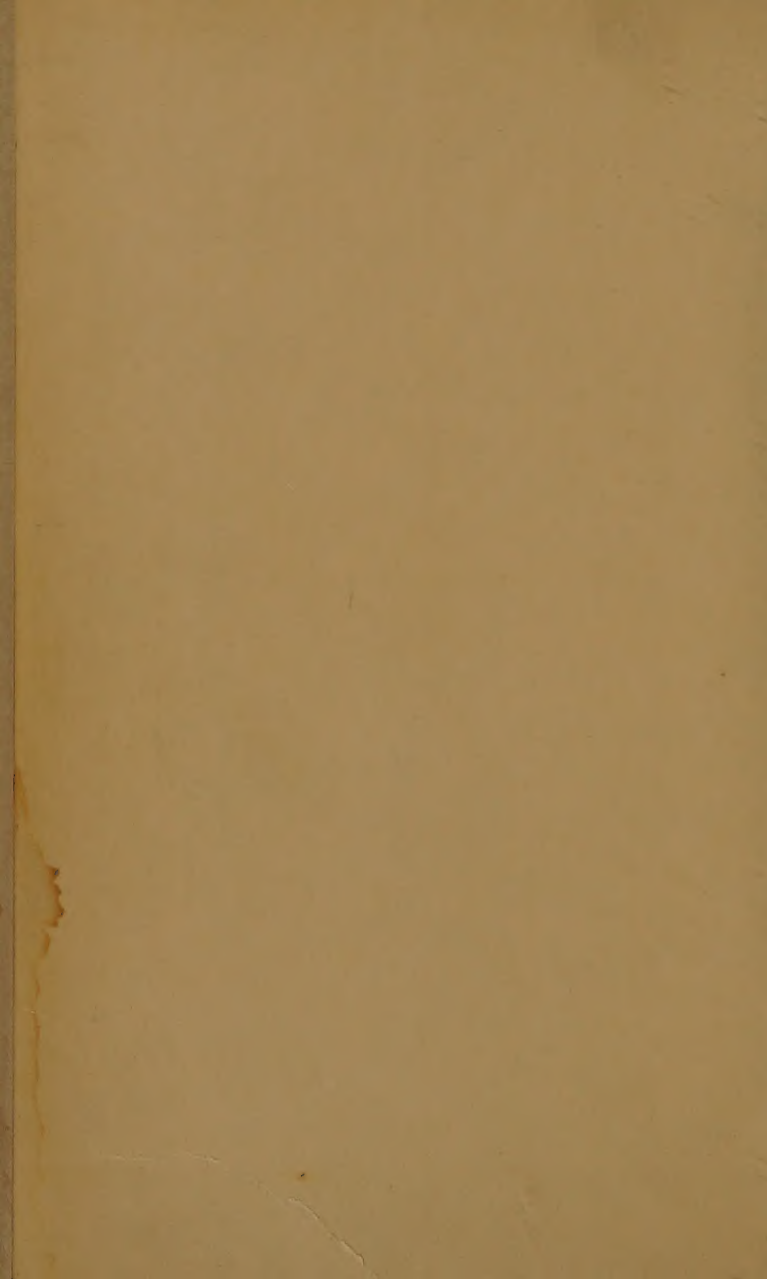
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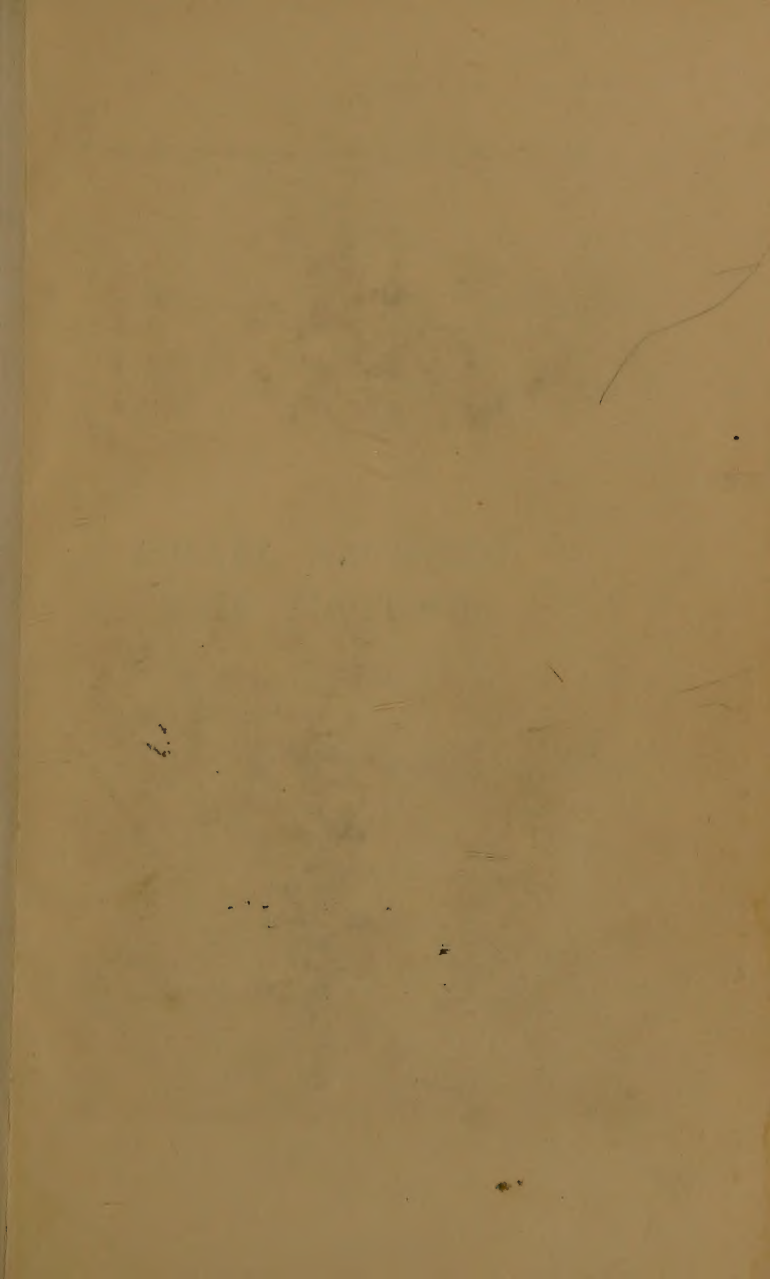
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ISRAEL AMONGST
THE NATIONS

ISRAEL AMONGST THE NATIONS

An Outline of Old Testament History

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1928

BY

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Author of "The Byzantine Empire," &c.

LONDON

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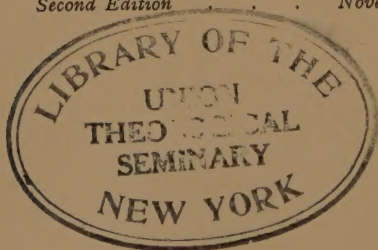
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TO MY STUDENTS
PAST AND PRESENT
AT
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON
I DEDICATE
THIS LITTLE BOOK

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

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PREFACE

THIS little book can lay no claim either to originality or to scholarship ; its object is to give to the general reader a sketch of the history of Israel which may serve as a background for his study of the Old Testament. To such a sketch the Bibliography on pp. 172-189 is the natural sequel, for a text-book such as this can only form an introduction to the larger works on the ancient history of the Near East. The Notes which follow the Bibliography (pp. 190-309) the general reader may ignore, if he so chooses: they are designed to justify the views expressed in the text, and at the same time to furnish a starting-point for the more detailed study of Old Testament History. I venture to hope that these Notes may prove of some use to the students of our Theological Colleges. Writing for English readers, I have used throughout the English forms of Hebrew proper names ; thus I have written Jehovah and not Jahveh or Jahweh. In general I have adopted as *a working hypothesis* the literary analysis of the Pentateuch associated with the name of Wellhausen. Despite recent criticism it still appears to me the most satisfactory explanation of those

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difficulties which it was framed to meet. Many readers will, I doubt not, find the standpoint of this book lamentably conservative, if not reactionary. That is inevitable, for the disagreement arises from a fundamental difference of opinion upon the character and value of our sources. In the treatment of historical documents I suspect that I was born a little Conservative. From critics of the bibliographical material contained in this little book I would ask for a merciful judgment : the choice of references to modern literature represents only a selection from the reading of one who is no specialist in the history of Israel : such a choice must of necessity be arbitrary : no selective bibliography ever satisfied any one save its maker, and in this case even he realises the inadequacy of his handiwork.

My special thanks are due to the Librarian and to the Staff of Dr Williams' Library, Gordon Square, W.C. : through the years their kindly help and generous tolerance of my importunity have never failed. If any readers of this book should desire to continue the serious study of the Old Testament, my counsel would be that they should seek admission to the privileges of this friendly Library.

December 1926,
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
LONDON.

PREFACE

I have taken the opportunity offered by the correction of the proofs to refer in the *Addenda* to some recent publications.

June 1927.

The demand for a second edition has come sooner than I expected. I have only been able to correct some misprints and to add in a Postscript (pp. 313, 314) a few references to recent publications. Should a third edition be called for, I hope to revise the book carefully throughout.

October 1928.

ABBREVIATIONS

I HAVE deliberately avoided the use of many customary abbreviations : these repellent symbols would, I felt, be out of place in this little book. I have, however, retained the conventional letters for the designation of the separate elements in the literary composition of the Pentateuch according to the analysis of the school of Wellhausen :

J. = The Jehovist (Jahvist) writer.

E. = The Elohist writer.

H. = The Law of Holiness.

P. = The Priestly Writer.

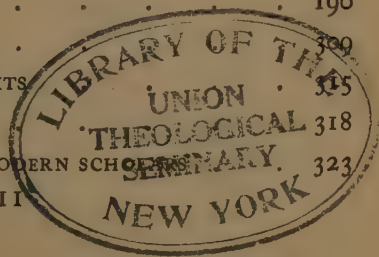
For the significance of these divisions the reader should consult any introduction to the literary study of the Old Testament.

NOTES

The small numbers in the text, above the line, refer to the Notes which are collected at the end of the book.

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" And a highway shall be there and a way "—that is precisely what Palestine has been from the beginning, a link between two continents, a highway betwixt Nile and Euphrates. Washed by the Mediterranean Sea on the West, and on the East by the sea of desert sand, this causeway was trodden by the armies of the ancient empires before whose might the strength of Israel was as a very little thing. Israel was set amongst the nations, and that setting determined the course of her history. In the sphere of human politics Palestine could never afford a foundation wide or stable enough for the building of a kingdom which should hold its own against all rivals, the freedom of a Palestinian state was " of suff'rance and at will of a superior." It was only in the audacious vision of the prophet that Israel could take her stand amongst the Empires of the East: " In that day there shall be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt and the Egyptian into Assyria and the Egyptians shall worship with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth " (Isaiah xix. 23-24). Israel could become a blessing, because she had first been blessed ; she was Jehovah's inheritance, and through that election of Jehovah she could claim a pride of place which she could never win by the arm of flesh.

ISRAEL AMONGST THE NATIONS

I

THE COMING OF THE SEMITES¹

THE history of Israel begins with the stories of the Patriarchs. This statement, it is true, would be challenged by many scholars for whom the stories of the Patriarchs are but a late imaginative reconstruction of the past and cannot therefore be used as historical sources for the early days of Israel's origins. But in the case of other peoples a similar scepticism is now discredited. Archæological research has recovered the background of the Homeric poems at Mycenæ, at Tiryns and at Troy, and though Greek tradition has woven about the Trojan war the rich pattern of epic splendour, that war is no less a fact of history. The Serbian state perished in the death-agony of Kossovo, but through the centuries of the Middle Ages the ballads of Serbia preserved an oral memory of the glorious tragedy of the national struggle against the Turk. And for the nomad the camp-fire forms a meeting-place where tradition can be handed down from generation to generation, where through the years the great dead of the clan possess their abiding memorial. It is easy for criticism to overshoot the mark. Minos of Crete, said Thucydides, was the first "lord of the sea":

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the statement had been doubted, and it was only in the twentieth century that Sir Arthur Evans unearthed the palace of "Minoan" lords at Knossos. Undismayed by the scepticism of many modern scholars, we may still write advisedly and with not a little confidence: the history of Israel begins with the stories of the Patriarchs.²

What then is the tradition of Israel's origins? "And Terah took Abram his son and Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife: and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees to go into the land of Canaan, and they came unto Haran and dwelt there." (Genesis xi. 31.)³ Ur of the Chaldees, Haran, Canaan—these are the stages of the journey—Babylonia, North Syria, Palestine. Abraham, "the Hebrew" (Genesis xiv.) travels right round the border of the desert which lies between the land of the Euphrates and that western highway which led from Asia to the land of the Nile—travels right round the "Fertile Crescent," as Breasted has called it.⁴ Let us look at these stages in his pilgrimage.

Early Babylonia⁵ is a land of city states strung on the Euphrates waterway or on the channels which united that river with the Tigris. Each city had its own divine champion, and the city's ruler was first and foremost the priest of the city's protecting deity. Now one and now another city won for itself the leadership in Babylonia,⁶ but amongst the earliest of these states to establish such a supremacy was the very ancient city of Ur. Ur was a great religious centre, the seat of the worship of the Moon

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God, whose temple excavation has only recently disclosed.⁷

In these city states lived the Sumerians, the first inhabitants of Southern Babylonia of whom we have any certain knowledge; here was developed the Sumerian civilisation which was later to become the inheritance alike of the Semitic kings of Babylon and of the Assyrian lords of Nineveh. Whence these Sumerians had journeyed to settle in the land between Tigris and Euphrates we do not know; it has been suggested that their temple-towers—the prototypes of the Tower of Babel—symbolised for the dwellers in the alluvial plain the mountains on which in their former eastern home they had set the shrines of their gods.⁸

Into this land between the rivers there came also the Semite.¹ We cannot yet say what share these Semitic immigrants may have had in fashioning Sumerian civilisation, but we do know that the Semitic kings who in the third millennium before our era founded the greatness of the city of Babylon made that civilisation their own. Thus the legal code of Hammurabi (*c.* 2000 B.C.),⁹ the most famous of the Semitic monarchs of the first Babylonian dynasty, did but follow the precedent set by earlier Sumerian legislators. In this Babylonian world can we trace the presence of the kinsmen of Abraham “the Hebrew”? Some scholars would say that we can,¹⁰ that we should identify with the Hebrews the people of the Habiru mentioned in early Babylonian and Hittite documents as well as in the fifteenth-century letters discovered in Egypt at Tell el-Amarna. These Habiru were to be found in large

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numbers in Southern Babylonia in the third millennium before Christ; they were in the pay of the state, and were probably serving as mercenary soldiers. In the second millennium the Habiru would seem to have moved northwards into the Hittite empire which had its capital at Boghaz-koi in Asia Minor. Though at this period individual members of the Habiru people still appear in Babylonian documents, from the archives of Boghaz-koi we may infer that in the first half of the second millennium the Habiru occupied an important position in the Hittite state. It is tempting to conclude that they had changed their allegiance, and, as mercenaries, had entered the service of a new pay-master. In the fifteenth century we know from the Amarna letters that they were invading Palestine. Thus the Habiru, like Abraham, might be said to have travelled round the circuit of the Desert Bay from Babylonia to Canaan.

The identification of the Habiru with the Hebrews is not yet proven, but in any case we know that about 2000 B.C. the Semites were ruling from Babylon and that Hammurabi was the sovran of a wide-spread empire. In Babylonian documents of this period Ungnad has found the name of Abraham, both in its longer and its shorter (Abram) form. Of the date of Abraham's departure from "Ur of the Chaldees" we cannot speak with any certainty. Later, after his entry into Canaan, Abraham met in battle the forces of Amraphel, King of Shinar, and some scholars have sought to identify Amraphel with Hammurabi, the King of Babylon. This identification is, however, very doubtful, for it is not easy to fit into the history

THE COMING OF THE SEMITES

of Hammurabi's reign, as we know it from contemporary cuneiform records, those other kings, the allies of Amraphel, who are mentioned in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis.¹¹ Further, *c.* 2000 B.C. would appear to be too early a date for Abraham's migration. It is, indeed, probable that the identification of Amraphel with Hammurabi is mistaken. A more hopeful clue to the interpretation of Genesis xiv. may be found in Sayce's suggestion that "*Tidal*, King of Nations," the confederate of Amraphel = Dudhalia, a king of the Anatolian-Hittite Empire. It now appears that the founder of the great Hittite dynasty which ruled from Boghaz-koi—the city of Chatti—was Dudhalia I. We have at present no means of determining the date of Dudhalia's reign, but it may be placed provisionally somewhere about the middle of the second millennium before Christ (*c.* 1500 B.C.). Already the Hittite may well have been supporting the chiefs of the states of Northern Syria in their attempts at southern expansion—an expansion which resulted before the time of Moses in the formation of an Amorite kingdom upon the eastern shores of the Dead Sea; in Canaan, it will be remembered Abraham found a Hittite settlement as far south as the neighbourhood of Hebron (chap. xxiii. and cf. chap. xxvii.). But if we place the arrival of Abraham in Canaan about 1500 B.C., it is important to realise that this date is but a conjecture: it cannot, as yet, be regarded as proven.

When Abraham reached Naharin—the land which stretched westwards from the Euphrates to the Orontes—he was still amongst Semites, for in this North Syrian territory where later the Aramæan

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✓ kingdom of Damascus was to be founded, the Amorites had settled and formed a centre of Semitic influence.¹² In Haran the family of Terah was content to remain, and here it made its permanent home; but Abraham continued his wandering and entered Canaan. Once more he found himself surrounded by Semitic immigrants who had imposed themselves upon an earlier population.

We do not yet know where we should place the native country of these Semitic intruders who had peopled Babylonia and Haran and Canaan, if indeed they shared a common "domicile of origin." Many, following the lead of Winckler, would find in Arabia the cradle of the Semite. Arabia at that early day was, it is suggested, a far more fertile country than in historic times: great rivers coursed down the valleys which now are desert gorges. But even then Arabia may have suffered from cycles of drought which periodically forced the inhabitants to emigrate to more fertile lands.¹³ On this view the Semite finding the entrances to Babylonia guarded against him by the forces of the Sumerian city states entered Canaan, passed into Haran and thence descended from the North upon the Euphrates Valley and eventually, as conqueror, established a dynasty—the dynasty of Hammurabi—in Babylon. Others would seek the home of the Semites in a centre further north than Arabia (perhaps in Armenia)¹⁴ whence they would have migrated alike into Canaan and into the Euphrates lands; it has even been suggested that Europe was the common home alike of Semite and of Indo-European.¹⁵ For our present purpose it is enough that we should clearly grasp the

THE COMING OF THE SEMITES

fact that by the time of Hammurabi (c. 2000 B.C.) the Semite was settled in Babylonia, in Haran and in Canaan.

Thus Abraham with his flocks and herds continued to wander southwards: "and Abram journeyed, going on still towards the Negeb," where Southern Judah borders on the desert. And for the wanderer's flocks and herds pasturage and the well for watering are the primal needs; and when flocks are tended, the nomad can no longer range rapidly over wide distances (Genesis xxxiii. 13), he moves within a more restricted area, as did Abraham about Mamre and Hebron, Beer-sheba and Gerar, or Jacob around Shechem. In favourable conditions he will become stationary for many months together, will even occasionally turn to a primitive form of agriculture, buy land (Genesis xxxiii. 19) and grow a little grain, or build himself a house (Genesis xxxiii. 17). He becomes only semi-nomadic. And if you would have a picture of this stage of human development, where will you find it more vividly portrayed than in the book of Genesis? For another picture you may turn to the romantic novel of the Egyptian exile Sinuhe, and there see the life of the nomad in Canaan through the eyes of a city-dweller, and note the differences in the story which follow from the outlook of the narrator.¹⁶

While in Canaan, Abraham, his son and grandson keep in touch with the family which had stayed in Haran. From "the land of the Aramæans" came Isaac's wife Rebecca: it was to the Aramæans in Haran that Jacob fled from the hostility of Esau, there, too, that he married Leah and Rachel. In

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Canaan by the side of the Semitic invader Abraham would find broken fragments of many older peoples ; between these peoples Hebrew tradition could discriminate, but these differentiations convey but little meaning to the modern student ; for us they remain but lists of names, and the underlying ethnic relations we cannot determine. " There are good reasons for believing that at a very early period the population of Palestine presented a mixture of races, and that through intermarriage the dividing line between these races became fainter in the course of time until all sharp distinctions were obliterated." ¹⁷

Though Abraham had left Babylonia, he had not escaped from the influence of Babylonian civilisation, for Babylonian armies had long since penetrated to the shores of the Western Sea—the Mediterranean. Centuries before Hammurabi, Sargon of Accad (*i.e.*, of Northern Babylonia) had marched (*c.* 2850 B.C.) as a conqueror into Western Asia, and trade relations had been established, which brought to the Euphrates cities by the way of peaceful intercourse the timber of the Lebanon and the stone of which the builder in alluvial Babylonia stood in need.¹⁸ Hammurabi extended and consolidated that Babylonian influence until the cuneiform script became the medium of diplomatic correspondence throughout the Near East.¹⁹ Amongst Perizzite and Hivite and Amorite, amongst Zuzim and Zanzummin, in the midst of a veritable ethnological museum, Abraham, his children and grandchildren, wandered as immigrant strangers through the land which their descendants were to claim for their own ^{by} title of the sword.

THE COMING OF THE SEMITES

Of the religion of the Patriarchs it is not easy to speak with any certainty. But in the narratives of Genesis we can trace a belief in a deity, *El* (=god), who is given no further personal name. Kittel has suggested²⁰ that this fact would seem to imply that in this particular circle one god so towered above all other deities that *for his own worshippers* he becomes simply "the god," and consequently God. He is the living one, an *el* of "seeing," and therefore a hearer and helper : a god of all time and of all power. He is thus regarded as "a personal Godhead, a kindly and accessible helper, and at the same time a protector and chastiser," greater than all other powers. This is not monotheism, but to the worshipper *El* "is so much the highest and worthiest among all gods that he dare regard him, not only as *summus deus*, but even as God absolutely." Such a faith can hardly be the creation of a later period, for it plays no part in the subsequent history of Israel. When the "God of the Fathers" was identified by Moses with the awful deity whose seat was Sinai, it was but natural that the name of Jehovah should be read back into the age of the Patriarchs. In this way Israel's religious origins were linked with the later faith of the Hebrews in that God of Deliverance, Jehovah, who had saved His people from Egyptian bondage.

For now the scene of Israel's early history shifts once more southwards, from Canaan to Egypt. Even in Canaan, the land which to the nomad might seem to flow with milk and honey, crops fail and the herdsman cannot buy himself grain ; to the dweller on the desert border of Southern Palestine the land

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of the Nile is near, and the report comes that there is corn in Egypt. To that granary of the ancient world the nomad turns for sustenance : he craves land where he may pasture his flocks. Israel sojourns in Egypt.

II

EGYPT

THE date alike of the entry of Israel into Egypt and of the Exodus from Egypt is quite uncertain : the chronological references in the Bible are inconsistent with each other and we do not at present possess any conclusive evidence from other sources. Perhaps the simplest method of illustrating the theories of modern scholars is to place them within the framework of a brief outline of Egyptian history.

The two kingdoms of the Delta and of Upper Egypt had been united under the Pharaohs of the First Dynasty ; the significance of the concentration of the resources of the whole country in the hands of a single sovran is mirrored in the Pyramids, those stupendous memorials of royal egoism. The monarchs of United Egypt under the Old Kingdom maintained regular communication with Byblos on the Phœnician coast-line : from the Lebanon they drew the timber for their ships and for their buildings ; as yet they had not set foot in Palestine. Under the later Pharaohs of the Early Kingdom, however, the royal authority was weakened, and the nobles extended their power at the expense of the central government. From high officials they would seem to have been gradually transformed into territorial

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rulers, enjoying a large local independence. At the same time the Asiatic immigrant was continuously penetrating into Egypt. The central power collapsed before local disintegration and for a time in the Eighth Dynasty it would appear that the foreigner ascended the throne of the Pharaohs. Step by step the Egyptians recovered the lost ground, and Egypt under the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty was a powerful state. But once again the course of Egyptian history was rudely interrupted by Asiatic invasion: the Hyksos—the so-called “Shepherd Kings”—overthrew the Twelfth Dynasty Pharaohs, and held Egypt under their domination for at least two hundred years. Some historians have thought that Israel “went down into Egypt” during the supremacy of these Asiatic intruders. At length in Upper Egypt resistance to the foreigner found its point of concentration; after a protracted war of liberation the Egyptians drove the Hyksos back into Asia, even pursuing them into Canaan on their retreat. Some have thought that the Exodus of the Hebrews was an incident in this expulsion of the Hyksos. During the troublous period of foreign domination the ranks of the local nobility had been decimated and the power of the nobles broken; the long-drawn struggle with the invader had awakened a military spirit in the victors. The army of Egypt was no longer a militia, but a highly organised and efficient force. The invaders had, it would seem, brought with them the horse, and the Egyptian chariotry henceforth took the place of the modern artillery. The Pharaoh is Egypt’s general, and a new nobility of office supports the

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throne. Egypt enters upon a period of conquest and expansion. The Eighteenth Dynasty (1580-1350 B.C. according to Breasted) founded an Asiatic Empire. Phœnicia became the naval base for the reduction of the mountainous interior, and Egyptian armies reached the Euphrates. The creation of this Empire was the work of Thutmose III (*c.* 1501-1447 B.C.), one of whose obelisks, disguised as Cleopatra's Needle, now stands on the Thames Embankment. Amenhotep II succeeded the founder of Egypt's Asiatic Empire, and some scholars who would regard Thutmose III as the Pharaoh of the Oppression place the Exodus in the reign of Amenhotep (*c.* 1445 B.C.). The might of Egypt in Asia declined under the later sovrans of the Eighteenth Dynasty, while a new invasion of nomads from the desert burst from the eastern border upon the length and breadth of Canaan. Of the devastation of these Habiru we possess contemporary evidence in the letters dating from the reigns of Amenhotep III (*c.* 1411-1375 B.C.) and of the heretic Pharaoh Amenhotep IV (*c.* 1375-1358 B.C.), better known as Akhnaten. These letters were discovered at Tell el-Amarna, the city founded by Akhnaten as his capital. We have already seen (p. 15) that some scholars would identify the Habiru with the Hebrews, and it is thus natural that many should have seen in this invasion of Canaan by the Habiru Israel's conquest of the Promised Land under the leadership of Joshua. But the heresy of Akhnaten did not prosper after the death of its founder, and Tutankhamen reverted to the orthodox faith of Egypt: the worship of Amon was restored. It has been contended that

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the Hebrews while in Egypt had shared Akhnaten's religious views and were in consequence oppressed by his orthodox successors: the Exodus forms part of the extirpation of Akhnaten's heresy. The Eighteenth Dynasty came to an inglorious close *c.* 1350 B.C. and the Ramesid Pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty sought to reassert Egyptian claims to supremacy in Western Asia and exhausted the strength of Egypt in campaigns against the Hittites who, from their capital at Boghaz-koi in Asia Minor, had extended their empire into Northern Syria. The Delta became the Egyptian military base, and Pithom served as a store city for the commissariat of the Pharaoh's armies. Some scholars would still maintain the traditional view which sees in Ramses II (*c.* 1292-1225 B.C.: so Breasted) the Pharaoh of the Oppression and in his successor Merenptah (*c.* 1225-1215 B.C.: so Breasted) the Pharaoh of the Exodus. To them this would appear the most probable solution of the chronological problem of the departure of Israel from Egypt: they would place the Exodus *c.* 1220 B.C.

It must indeed never be forgotten that on our present evidence we cannot do more than guess at the date either of the entry of the Hebrews into Egypt or of the Exodus, and there can obviously be no attempt in this essay to discuss the problem at length. I can only state what appears to me to be the most probable hypothesis. I would suggest that if Abraham came into Canaan somewhere about 1500 B.C., Joseph may have gone down into Egypt in the second half of the fifteenth century—under Amenhotep II (*c.* 1448-1420 B.C.: so Breasted)

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or Thutmose IV (c. 1420-1411 B.C.: so Breasted).¹ In the Biblical account of the building by the Hebrews of Pithom and Ramses, there is probably a true historical reminiscence of the Ramesid period, and we should thus continue to place the Exodus in the reign of Merenptah.¹

From the Egyptian evidence we know that the Hebrew settlement in Goshen was no unexampled incident: such grants of pasture-land to Asiatic tribesmen were clearly part of Egyptian policy of state under the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. On a relief of Harmhab, the founder of the Nineteenth Egyptian Dynasty, there is depicted a scene showing the reception of Asiatics into Egypt, and the mutilated text accompanying the relief runs: "Their countries are starving, they live like goats of the mountain, [their] children—saying: A few of the Asiatics, who know not how they should live have come [begg]ing [a home in the domain²] of Pharaoh after the manner of your fathers' fathers since the beginning, under— Now the Pharaoh gives them into your hand, to protect their borders."³ Lehmann-Haupt is inclined to see in this relief a representation of the entry of the Hebrews into Egypt. There is nothing to support such a conjecture, but the really significant fact is that the inscription regards the reception of Asiatics into Egypt as a traditional practice of the Pharaohs. With the scene on this relief should be compared the letter of a frontier official of Merenptah (c. 1225-1215 B.C.: so Breasted), preserved on a papyrus now in the British Museum. We know that from the time of the Twelfth Dynasty onwards the north-east frontier

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of Egypt from the northern end of the Gulf of Suez (which was then perhaps at Lake Timsah) to the Mediterranean Sea was protected by a line of forts, guarded by troops ; and at least under Merenptah no one was allowed to pass any of these forts in either direction until he had informed the officer in command of his name, his position, and the object of his journey, and had produced his letters of authorisation. From the report of Merenptah's official we learn that permission had been given to certain Bedouin tribes to pass the southern frontier-fort, at Thukke, in order to pasture their cattle near Pithom, a few miles east of Goshen ; the text of the letter runs as follows :

“ Another matter for the satisfaction of my master's heart. We have allowed the tribes of the Shasu (Bedouin) of Atuma to pass the castle of King Merenptah which is in Thukke to the lakes of Pithom, of King Merenptah in Thukke, in order to find sustenance for themselves and their cattle in the domain of Pharaoh who is the beneficent sun in every land.” *

The entry of the Hebrews into Goshen was not without precedent : Jacob and his family were but following a practice which must have been traditional amongst the nomads of the Egyptian frontier. The Hebrews were given land in Goshen for their settlement where as keepers of flocks and herds they lived apart from the Egyptians : they were sojourners in the land. It may well have been that a part only of the Hebrews passed into Egypt : even those who did cross the frontier did not desire to sever the connection with Canaan—if nothing else, their bones should

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be carried back to be buried in the land where Abraham and Isaac had wandered. If we accept the identification of the Hebrews with the Habiru, it must have been during this period that within the larger grouping of the "Hebrew" people there gradually emerged and crystallised a new clearly differentiated group—the Israelites—claiming Abraham, "the Hebrew," as their ancestor. Thus it is that on a stele of Merenptah (*c.* 1225-1215 B.C.), which apparently records a contemporary Egyptian campaign in Syria there occurs for the first time in our extra-Biblical sources a mention of Israel: "Israel is destroyed: its seed is not!" (Peet's translation). To those who hold the view (as would the present writer) that not all the Israelites entered Egypt, the stele is irrelevant to a discussion of the Exodus. It is, however, of great importance in another connection, for it definitely proves that the separate existence of a social unit recently formed within the wider grouping of the "Hebrew" people was already an accomplished fact; the other elements of that wider grouping were fated to lose their individuality: the future lay with the newly crystallised formation—with Israel.⁵ Some modern scholars have denied that Israel ever went to sojourn in Egypt: there must, they argue, if this stay in Egypt were a fact of history, have been stronger traces of Egyptian influence in the practices and literature of the Hebrews. But this absence of Egyptian influence is surely not difficult to understand if we realise that the Hebrews in Goshen were a people apart, living their own life in the tents of the nomad, still preserving around their camp-fires

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the traditions of those ancestors to whom, whether alive or dead, they ultimately hoped to return. That while they abode in Egypt they should worship the gods of the land (Joshua xxiv. 14) is only natural; here and there one might even be employed as a sculptor on Egyptian monuments,⁶ but between nomad and city-dweller there would be little contact. It was not the life *in* Egypt but the escape *from* Egypt which profoundly influenced the consciousness of the people of Israel. For the Egyptian attempted at length to conscript the tent-dweller of the desert margin for the service of the town-dweller of the river valley: the immigrants were set to task-work and forced to build Pithom and "the city of Ramses" for the Pharaoh. They were brought to live with the subjects of the Pharaoh in houses—to abandon the tents of their ancestors: and the Hebrew revolted from this change of life. Now as on a later day the cry was raised "To your tents, O Israel!" As the Egyptian Sinuhe in the tent-life of Canaan longed for the comforts of the city, so the nomad sighed for his lost freedom—for the mobility of the herdsman. History repeats itself: "Egypt is the most conservative of countries," writes Professor Sayce, "and the children of Israel still have their representatives in it. The Bedouin still feed their flocks, and enjoy an independent existence on the outskirts of the cultivated land. Even when they adopt a settled agricultural life, they still claim immunity from the burdens of their fellahin neighbours on the ground of their Bedouin descent. They are exempt from the conscription and the *corvée*, the modern equivalent of the forced

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brick-making of the Mosaic age. The attempt to interfere with their privileges has actually led to an Exodus in our own time. Yakub Artin Pasha has told me that his father, the famous Hekekyan Bey, always maintained that he had seen with his own eyes the Israelites departing from Egypt. The Wady Tumîlat—the Goshen of old days—was colonised by Arabs from the Nedj and Babylonia by Mohammed Ali, who wished to employ them in the culture of the silk-worm. Here they lived, with their flocks and cattle, protected by the government and exempt from taxation, from military service and the *corvée*. Mohammed Ali died, however, and an attempt was made to force them into the army, and to lay upon them the ordinary burdens of taxation. Thereupon in a single night the whole population silently departed with all their possessions, leaving behind them nothing but the hearths of their deserted homes. They made their way back to their kinsfolk eastward of Egypt and the Wady Tumîlat fell into the state of desolation in which it was found by M. Lesseps when he excavated the Freshwater Canal.”

This is one side of the meaning of the Exodus, but for Israel that departure from Egypt had a yet deeper significance: that rescue from Egyptian bondage was the work of Jehovah who with a strong hand had brought them forth to make of them a free people; that rescue remained for the Hebrew not merely as the memory of a deliverance wrought for ancestors long since dead—not merely as a notable incident of ancient history—but as an abiding pledge of divine guidance: the God who had brought them

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forth from Egypt was their God *now*—a *present* deliverer, as the Priestly writer expressed it centuries later (Exodus xxix. 45-46). Take a concordance, look up the word "Egypt," and see how the theme runs as a constant thread woven into the message of legislator, historian, psalmist, prophet and priest. The ritual use of Unleavened Bread commemorated it, the Passover festival became its memorial, the first-born of beast and man was dedicated to the Lord on the same ground (Exodus xiii. 13-16, J.E.), while the Elohist writer uses the deliverance as the ground of a people's loyalty to Jehovah (Joshua xxiv. 16, *sqq.*). The Deuteronomic code employed it as an argument for the keeping of the Sabbath (Deuteronomy v. 15), and as an argument against idolatry (Deuteronomy xiii. 5, 10). The Decalogue alike in Exodus xx. 2 and Deuteronomy v. 6 begins with an appeal to that liberation: "I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage"; the Law of Holiness bases its fundamental demand upon the same fact: "I am the Lord that brought you up out of the land of Egypt to be your God; ye shall therefore be holy, for I am holy." (Leviticus xi. 44-45.) Not only so, but this bondage and this deliverance formed from the earliest times the basis for a social ethic, for the generous treatment of the stranger^s and the slave: "And a stranger shalt thou not wrong, neither shalt thou oppress him: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Exodus xxii. 21 E.), which becomes in the Deuteronomic code (Deuteronomy x. 19), "Love ye therefore the stranger," etc., and in the Law of Holiness "The stranger that sojourneth with

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you shall be unto you as the homeborn among you and thou shalt love him as thyself," and the same reason for this large-hearted generosity is repeated from the earlier legislation (Leviticus xix. 34). When the code of Leviticus ordains that the fellow Hebrew who has waxen poor and has sold himself into slavery be not treated as a bond-slave, but as a hired servant, that he be liberated in the year of Jubilee, the justification given for the law by Jehovah is that "They are *my* servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold as bondmen" (Leviticus xxv. 42)—both Hebrew master and Hebrew slave are servants of a common God of Deliverance (xxv. 55; cf. Deuteronomy xv. 15). Again the same note is heard in the general provision of Deuteronomy xxiv. 17-18. "Thou shalt not wrest the judgment of the stranger nor of the fatherless nor take the widow's raiment to pledge, but thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt, and the Lord thy God redeemed thee thence: *therefore* I command thee to do this thing."

The appeal of Jehovah to his people in Hosea is based on the fact that "when Israel was a child, then I loved him and called my son out of Egypt" (Hosea xi. 1; cf. Matthew ii. 15), while the final and most terrible threat of the Deuteronomic author was that "the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again . . . and there ye shall sell yourselves unto your enemies for bondmen and for bondwomen and no man shall buy you" (Deuteronomy xxviii. 68).*

* For the use of the argument in a political sense cf. Deuteronomy xvii. 16, with 1 Kings x. 29; 2 Kings xviii. 24.

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Such was the profound impression which the escape from the bondage to Pharaoh stamped upon Hebrew thought: it is a short-sighted criticism which would minimise the significance of Israel's "Sojourn in Egypt." 9

III

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IT is probably idle to attempt to reconstruct the route followed by the Hebrews in their desert wandering: for the purpose of this essay such an inquiry would certainly be irrelevant. But in the fashioning of the national consciousness this period of the return to nomadism is of fundamental importance. Whether that wandering was shared by all the Hebrew tribes or not, whether some tribes, such as Asher, never went down into Egypt with Joseph, whether Judah broke away from the other tribes and entered the Land of Promise from the South and not, as did the main body of the Hebrews under Joshua, from the East—these are disputed questions:¹ the undisputed fact is that the experiences of the desert wandering were of such abiding significance for the Hebrews that *all* the tribes claimed their part in those experiences—that the revelation of a people's god at Sinai or Horeb, the law there given by Jehovah became a *national* inheritance. The welding of the fugitive clans into a nation was, Hebrew tradition asserted, the work of a great prophetic personality, Moses, and if Hebrew tradition had not asserted it, we must surely have presumed the existence of some such

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personality. To strike Moses out of the chronicle of Israel's origins is to obliterate the first chapter in the history of the moulding of a people.²

If we would study historically the development of the higher religious thought of Israel, it would seem that we are necessarily driven back upon Moses as the human founder of Israel's religion. The earliest prophets do not declare a *new* doctrine of a righteous God: they presuppose and appeal to conceptions which are already familiar, and those conceptions are associated by them with the period of the desert wandering. Where else, indeed, in the early history of Israel is there room for any outstanding figure who should have declared this message of the righteousness of a moral God? There is no such figure known to us from the days of the united monarchy, and who would dare to suppose that any such religious founder is to be inserted into the chaotic period of the rule of the Judges? The historical student, like Nature, abhors a vacuum, and in self-defence, so it would appear to the present writer, he is forced to accept the Hebrew tradition and the significance which is attributed by that tradition to the work of Moses. At Sinai a covenant was sealed between a people and a people's God: for Israel there was to be no other God than Jehovah.³ When Sinai was left behind, the ark in its tent shrine became the abiding symbol of Jehovah's journeying presence.⁴

To characterise in detail the work of Moses as law-giver may be impossible: we may never be able to say precisely how much of the legislation traditionally ascribed to him is in fact derived from that source. But there would appear little reason to

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doubt that some early form of the Decalogue is Mosaic, or that Israel further received at this time a common code of law which for the Hebrew was enforced by the sanction of a divine authority.

It is of course true that Israel's earliest code "The Book of the Covenant" (Exodus xx. 22-xxiii. 19) clearly presupposes agricultural conditions of life: it is not the law-book of nomadic herdsmen living in the wilderness. From this fact it has been concluded that such legislation cannot have emanated from Moses. It is sometimes forgotten that according to Hebrew tradition, before the Promised Land was entered, the kingdoms of Sihon of Heshbon and Og of Bashan were conquered *with their cities* and the trans-Jordanic territory occupied. This implies a stay of unknown duration amidst a population of agriculturists and city-dwellers and it may, at least, be suggested that much of the Book of the Covenant may have arisen from the "case-law" of Moses and the Hebrew judges, *i.e.*, from legal decisions pronounced after the trans-Jordanic conquests, but before the entry into Canaan. The Book of the Covenant, it would appear to the present writer, may indeed be of earlier formulation than many scholars would be prepared to admit: it may in large measure rightly claim the title of the law of Moses.

The law of Babylonia had, we must presume, been brought to the West by the victorious Babylonian armies: ⁵ codes of law had been known to the Sumerians long before the Semitic invader had established a dynasty in the Euphrates Valley; even Hammurabi's code was, we have now learned, in large measure a compilation from the work of

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earlier Sumerian legislators. The code of Moses was not in itself a novelty either for Sumerian or Semite, while similarly Hittites and Assyrians possessed their own legal codes. In the early law of Israel as preserved in the Book of the Covenant there are naturally close parallels with Babylonian legislation, e.g., the *lex talionis*—an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth—is found in both codes, but the attempt to prove for individual Hebrew laws *direct* dependence upon the laws of Hammurabi has been, so far as the present writer can judge, unsuccessful: there is a closer relation between early Sumerian legislation and the code of Hammurabi than between that code and “Mosaic” legislation. The claim of complete originality in conception once made for Moses as legislator can no longer be sustained, but there is, it would appear, no reason on our present evidence to deny to the legislators of Israel the independent creation of a national code. How far in the early period this law was enforced amongst the different Hebrew tribes is a question to which no certain answer can be given, but the sanction of its divine origin ultimately secured its sole recognition by a united people.

When we compare the provisions of the Book of the Covenant with those of the Hammurabi code,⁶ it is clear that the simpler and more primitive conditions of Hebrew life are accurately mirrored in the Hebrew legislation. Here there is no trace of the regulation of trade which always played a predominant part in Babylonian activities: the law of credit and of hiring is quite undeveloped (Exodus xxii. 14, 15, 25-27), and the same can be said of the

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law of bailment (xxii. 7, *sqq.*). The law of family relations is, as we might expect, the most highly elaborated section of the code, and the "case-law" on the rights of a Hebrew bondservant, whether male or female, already bears traces of a primitive systematisation (xxi. 2-11). The rights of property are safeguarded by provisions which go far beyond the simple restitution of an equivalent: in some cases of theft a fourfold restitution is prescribed (xxii. 1). This recognition of the right of property is nowhere more rigorously enforced than in the provision that "if a man smite his bondman or his bondwoman with a rod and he die under his hand, he shall surely be punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two (*i.e.*, if the bondman or bondwoman do not die from the injury forthwith), the master shall not be punished, *for he is his money.*" (xxi. 20-21). The legislation is primitive in that it looks generally upon the *fact* of the crime committed and does not regard the motive (cf. Abimelech in Genesis xx., Jonathan in 1 Samuel xiv.): thus a beast can be punished for a "crime" as much as a human being. Guilt carries with it infection: the object of infection must be destroyed and the land thus purified. But there are already signs of a development in the analysis of the conception of guilt: the primitive standpoint is abandoned and blood-revenge checked by the recognition of a distinction between voluntary and involuntary homicide and by the provision of a place of refuge for the involuntary manslayer.

Two outstanding characteristics differentiate the early legislation of Israel from that of other an-

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✓ cient peoples—its humanity and its close union of law and religion. The humanity of the Hebrew code can be traced in the liberation of the Hebrew bondman after six years of service, unless he choose to remain subject to his master (Exodus xxi. 2-6), the liberation of the injured slave (xxi. 26-27), the denial of the right to take interest for money lent to a poor Hebrew (xxii. 25), the restoration to the creditor before evening of his garment given in pledge: "for that is his only covering, it is his garment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep?" (xxii. 26-27), the insistence on righteous judgment (xxiii. 1-3, 6-8), the protection of the stranger,* the orphan, the widow (xxii. 22-24), and the poor (cf. xxiii. 11); it culminates in the wonderful verses: "If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him" (xxiii. 4-5).

It may be generally true that for the Semite "religion and ethics, social, political and religious institutions formed more or less a whole," yet in the case of the Hebrews the relation between Jehovah's law and the religion of Jehovah was peculiarly close: herein lies the originality and the grandeur of Israel's code. Jehovah, even in the Book of the Covenant, is the righteous God who will not justify the wicked, to whom the wronged can cry and he will hear: "for I am gracious"; and this feature of the legislation of the Book of the Covenant is only more pronounced in the successive editions of the

* (Exodus xxii. 21; xxiii. 9, and cf. *supra*, p. 32.)

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law. Behind the law of Babylon, it is true, stood Shamash, the Sun God, who on Hammurabi's stele orders the publication of the code, but the code itself is the work of the king: "Law and Justice," he says, "I established in the land for the good of the people": the code of Israel was the creation of no human legislator, it was directly dictated by Israel's God, and the divine author speaks throughout in his own person. Jehovah enforces his own law: "If you afflict the widow or the fatherless child in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry and my wrath shall wax hot and I will kill you with the sword" (xxii. 23-24). It is this intimate union of law and religion which constitutes the historical significance of Israel's early legislation.

IV

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IF the dating of the Hebrew entry into Egypt and of the Exodus from Egypt is uncertain, so also is the length of time spent by the Hebrews in the wilderness wandering, and similarly the date of the Hebrew advance under Joshua to the conquest of Canaan. In the view of those who regard the Exodus as an incident in the expulsion from Egypt of the Hyksos (*c.* 1580 B.C.) and consider the invasion of the Habiru of which the Amarna tablets give us so vivid a picture as the attack of Joshua and the Israelites (*c.* 1375 B.C.), the sojourn in the wilderness would have lasted some two hundred years.¹ The traditional association of Moses with Joshua in the Hebrew sources makes it very difficult for me to accept this version of Hebrew history. Similarly I cannot approve of the view which, adopting the identification of the Habiru with the Hebrews, suggests that Joshua conquered the north of Canaan some two hundred years before the appearance of Moses.² If the Exodus be dated to the reign of Merenptah—say *c.* 1220 B.C.³—the advance under Joshua would be placed a generation later, about 1190 B.C. This is the supposition which I should prefer to adopt.

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What was the position of the great powers of the Near East at this time? We have seen that Egypt under the Nineteenth Dynasty was engaged in a protracted war with the Hittite empire; but the Hittites were not her only foes. While Libyans from the western desert invaded the fertile delta of the Nile, a vast "wandering of the peoples" swept like a human avalanche from the furthest north through Western Asia carrying together with it men of broken tribes and shattered kingdoms in its devastating onset, until it was brought to a standstill and annihilated by Ramses III at the gateway of Egypt in the land and sea battle of Pelusium (? 1194 B.C.).⁴ Borne along in this welter of peoples and thrown back on the coast of Canaan were the Philistines who were later to give their name to Palestine. They settled in the coastal plain where we shall meet them again in the next stage of Israel's history. This supreme effort of Ramses III, following on the exhaustion of the kingdom after the protracted and inconclusive struggle with the Hittites, was the last great achievement of the dynasty:⁵ a Ramses continued to succeed his namesake in unbroken line, but while the power of the priests of Amon grew, that of the Pharaohs constantly declined. The later Ramesids are to us shadowy shapes, hardly distinguishable each from the other: Egypt's Asiatic empire dropped from their nerveless hands, and their ambassadors could be treated with contumely by cities which had trembled at the name of Thutmose III. Read the account of the mission of the luckless Wen-Amon as translated in Professor Macalister's lectures on the Philistines, if you would

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see the depth to which Egyptian prestige had sunk under the insignificant descendants of Ramses III.⁶ At the same time the great *Völkerwanderung* had broken the strength of the Anatolian empire of the Hittites: the centre of their power was transferred from Boghaz-koi to Carchemish on the Euphrates; they no longer concerned themselves with the politics of Syria and Canaan. While Assyria was still an inconsiderable state, whose imperial ambitions did not extend far beyond the territory of the two rivers, Babylonia had declined from the position which she had occupied under the Semitic dynasty of Hammurabi, and for six hundred years was governed by Cassite kings—invaders whose home was perhaps in the mountains to the east of Babylonia. These Cassite sovrans consistently pursued, so far as we can gather from our inadequate sources, an unadventurous policy: they were probably well content, and their subjects with them, if trade-routes remained open, if “Babylonish garments” and other merchandise could freely pass to the markets of the West. In a word there was no great empire in the Near East cherishing projects of widespread military conquest or political ascendancy. Canaan was left at liberty to live its own life and to fight out its own feuds without external interference. It was thus a domestic problem which faced the Israelite and the Canaanite, and that problem they were forced to solve as best they might, unaided and unchecked: there was no common master to dictate the form of the solution. The Israelite, an invader from the desert claiming the sown land by title of the sword; the Canaanite, long settled as

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city-dweller and agriculturist defending his right to the fields, the vineyards, the olive-groves of his inheritance: how should they keep house together?

With the details of the Hebrew conquest of Canaan we are not here concerned: its main stages may be briefly recalled.⁷ From Kadesh, where Moses acted with a council of the elders as patriarchal judge (Exodus xviii.), the Hebrews attempted to enter Palestine from the south, but their courage failed them when they learned the strength of the Canaanite cities. It was on the territory east of the Jordan that they were offered their first opportunity of settling on agricultural land. There Ammonites and Moabites were at war with the Amorites; the latter under their king Sihon had robbed the Ammonites of their western territory and driven the Moabites south of the Arnon: a strong kingdom had been formed with its capital at Heshbon opposite Jericho. It was this kingdom that the Israelites attacked: it was here on the east of the Jordan that the nomad won his footing in the sown land, here the great transition was begun: already the desert dweller had taken possession of "goodly cities which he had not builded and houses full of all good things which he had not filled, of wells which he had not digged." If, indeed, as Hebrew tradition asserted, lands were at this time assigned to certain of the tribes, this period of settlement east of the Jordan was probably of greater significance for the Hebrew people than is at first sight suggested by the Biblical account (see p. 37).

The next stage of their advance brought them

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across the river,⁸ and under the leadership of Joshua Jericho was captured⁹ and a strong position was secured in the hill-tract of central Palestine. But as tribe after tribe settled in their trans-Jordanic possessions, the conquest of the country, which had perhaps begun as a common undertaking, broke up into a series of sectional and local struggles and the character of the occupation of the conquered territory assumed in consequence different forms. The unity of the Hebrew people might live on as an ideal, but even that ideal was weakened by the solvent of distance, by the new interests of the separate clans. In the plain are the walled cities of the Canaanite and these still hold out against the invader: Beth-shean, Taanach, Dor, Megiddo drive a wedge between the hills of Ephraim and the Hebrew settlements in the North: Jerusalem remains a Jebusite fortress, and Judah in the South is cut off from co-operation with the other tribes by another line of Canaanite cities—Har-Heres, Gezer, Aijalon, and Shaalbim. If we would picture the geographical difficulties which in these early days impeded common action and promoted separation in thought and deed, we must never forget those two sundering enclaves of Canaanite strongholds. The united Hebrew monarchy lasted only for three generations: with the cry of "What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse," the North broke its allegiance to Judah's king. The underlying causes of that breach and of the war of Secession which followed stretch into a distant past: they are rooted in the conditions of the period of the Conquest.

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But it was not merely geographical separation which counted : there were also the social differences in the relations between the older inhabitants and the new-comers. At times the Hebrew may have all but annihilated the Canaanites or have reduced them to serfage, as they did the Gibeonites ; but such treatment was doubtless exceptional, and in general Canaanite and Hebrew must have shared a common life, while at times the supremacy remained with the Canaanite. This was perhaps the case with Issachar whom the " Testament of Jacob " compares to a pack-animal willing to serve so long as it is fed. The scheme of general extermination of the Canaanite is a late conception, and how imperfectly the inhabitants of the land were subdued is clearly shown by the early account of the Hebrew invasion preserved in the first chapter of the Book of Judges, with its insistence on the extent of the territory which was *not* occupied by the Israelites. The tribe of Judah in especial would seem to have won its lands more by alliance and intermarriage than by the sword ; here, as has often been observed, Calebites, Kenites and Kenizzites were gradually absorbed by the Hebrew settlers.

And as soon as the nomad has taken up his abode in the sown land, he must shoulder the task of the agriculturist and defend that land against the desert marauder who is now for him, too, a dangerous foe : Israel must repel the Midianite. The Hebrew is thus beset by a double peril : the ordered onset of Canaanite chariotry, the flying *razzia* from the waste : his is a struggle with a double front

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—a struggle against the desert and the city wall.

The problem for the Hebrew is that of adaptation to these strange conditions, and in an age when the folk of every territory worshipped each its own divine protectors this problem of adaptation must of necessity be of most vital significance in the sphere of religion. The “lords” of Canaan—the Baals—were the gods of an agricultural people: they were the givers of fertility: Jehovah was the God of Sinai or Horeb, and his mountain seat was in the wilderness. Now that the Hebrew was dwelling in the land of the Baals, what was to be his relation to these powers? The native cult of agricultural Canaan may be said to have been based upon “a deification of the sexual instinct.” Nature was interpreted through analogies drawn from the process of physical generation: its divinity was conceived as divided into a male and female principle whose marriage was the cause of the earth’s fecundity; its votaries were taught that union with the deity was realised through fleshly intercourse with the sacred prostitutes of the sanctuary of the local Baal. There was thus for the Hebrew the constant danger that the austere God of the desert theophany—the Jehovah of their early moral code—might be identified with—reduced to the level of—a mere deity of fertility, that his cult might be confused with the immoral ritual of Canaan. It may be true, as Kittel has observed, that in the stories of the Book of Judges, when considered apart from the later theological framework in which they are set, there is no clear case of apostasy from Jehovah:

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but this is not decisive. Here, as so often in human history, the conquered took the conqueror captive ; it is in the sphere of religion that the triumph of Canaanite influence was most permanent and of most fatal significance. For while in moments of crisis the appeal to Jehovah was a people's rallying cry, yet, as in Deborah's song¹⁰, it is from the desert—from *Seir and Sinai*—that Jehovah is summoned for the salvation of Israel: time was needed before Jehovah followed his people and found his abode in the new land which his worshippers had won by the sword. Thus in years of peace it was but natural that the Hebrew peasants should adopt or adapt to their own use the local cult and the local ritual, that they should have "one religion for times of patriotic exaltation and another for daily life,"¹¹ that while Jehovah remained the national avenger from oppression, the local Baal should be regarded as the giver of the increase of their fields. Hosea can describe the religion of his day as spiritual adultery with the false deities who had seduced Israel from her allegiance to Jehovah: "For she said I will go after my lovers (the Baals), the givers of my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, my oil and my drink. Therefore I will hedge up her way with thorns and wall her up that she find not her paths. And when she pursues her lovers without reaching them, and seeks them without finding them, then she will say, I will return to my first husband, for better it was with me then than now. *But she knew not that it was I who gave her the corn and the must and the oil and bestowed on her much silver and gold*" (Hosea ii. 5-8). Thus Hosea and

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Jeremiah can idealise the period of desert wandering—

I remember the grace of thy youth,
Thy love as a bride,
How thou followedst Me in the waste,
In a land unsown.
Holy was Israel to Jehovah,
First-fruits of His harvest—

since in those early days Israel had not taken over from the Canaanite many an altar on the hill, many a sacred stone and hallowed tree to sanctify them by Hebrew tradition, since it was only in Canaan that Israel had broken her yoke and burst her thongs and said “I will not serve,”

While on every high hill,
And 'neath every green tree,
Thou sprawledst a harlot.

This was the price which Israel paid for her conquest of the sown land.¹²

From the Canaanite the Hebrew learned not only agriculture and the religion of the agriculturist, he learned also the life of the city.¹³ Was it in Canaan, too, permeated as it had been by Babylonian civilisation, that Israel became acquainted with the myths and cosmogonies of the lands between the Tigris and the Euphrates? It is not easy to say when the Hebrew first took the legends of Babylon and refashioned them to form his own account of human origins, creating from the material of Babylonian polytheism his interpretation of the dealings of Jehovah with all created things.

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Indeed the question has been raised whether these stories of the Creation and the Great Flood were ever *borrowed* from the Babylonian world: it has been suggested that they were originally common to Babylonian and Israelite alike: they had journeyed southwards from that northern home, perhaps in Armenia, whence both peoples had travelled. The work of the Hebrews would on this view be but the moulding of what had been from the first their own traditions, transforming their native polytheism until there emerged from the welter of divine beings the solitary majesty of Jehovah as Lord of his created world.¹⁴ Thus was accomplished the magnificent achievement of the Hebrew genius which is immortalised in the Book of Genesis. When the Hebrews first reduced these traditions to writing we do not know, but inscriptions discovered in Sinai by Petrie have proved that the origin of the Semitic script must be dated to a far earlier period than had once been thought possible: ¹⁵ there was it would seem a Semitic script in existence before the time of Moses. In Canaan the Hebrews came to settle in a land which had long possessed a knowledge of Babylonian cuneiform writing: the Canaanites doubtless preserved written records of their past, and in a town like Shechem—where Canaanite and Hebrew shared a common life and even, it would seem, united in a common worship ¹⁶—it would be natural that the Hebrews should follow the example of the dwellers in the land. That they were using a Semitic script during the period of the “Judges” cannot, as yet, be proved, but on the Syrian coast-line in the twelfth century Zakar-Baal of Dor was

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importing papyrus from Egypt: in what script did he keep his merchant-ledgers?—hardly in the wedge-shaped symbols of Babylonia, adapted only for use on tablets of clay. Thus it no longer appears impossible that during the period of the Judges the Hebrews were reducing to written form the traditions of their people; already they must have been composing liturgies and hymns which in a later development were to flower into the Book of Psalms.

Here, too, in Shechem we see the first beginnings of kingship amongst the Hebrews; that kingship was based upon the personal prowess of Gideon; it finds its parallel in the story of the hardy outlaw Jephthah, whose rule the chiefs of Gilead offer to accept if he will free them from the oppression of the Ammonite. The kingship of Gideon and of Jephthah passed—a rule founded on personal prowess alone is proverbially unstable—but the fashion which the Canaanite had set was to be revived in a later crisis—“Make us a king to judge us like all the nations” will be Israel’s demand of Samuel.

At length in two great battles the Canaanite power was broken by the defeat of Jabin and of Sisera, but even in the supreme crisis of the Battle of the River Kishon only Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir, Issachar and Zebulun obeyed the summons of Deborah and joined the men of Naphtali against the kings of Canaan “in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo.”¹⁰ Judah is not even called upon to aid in the struggle, so isolated is the South. From this silence we can best understand the purely local character of the exploits of Hebrew heroes re-

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corded in the Book of Judges. But, though the Canaanite was vanquished, a new foe threatened to subjugate Israel: it was in a Philistine temple that the "boisterous knight" Samson met his death.

V

THE PHILISTINES

HEBREW tradition remembered that the Philistines had come from Caphtor,¹ and Caphtor, it seems, is (or at least includes) Crete. It has been conjectured that the Philistines (or perhaps rather some of the tribes which formed the Philistine confederation)² were the descendants of those "Minoans" who produced the Bronze Age civilisation of Crete, of which the centre was Knossos. When in the fifteenth century (*c.* 1450) that civilisation was overthrown in sack and ruin, Cretan refugees may have settled in Lycia and Caria, and have been swept thence in the great "Wandering of the Peoples," which was defeated by Ramses III at the Battle of Pelusium in the first decade of the twelfth century.³ Macalister has suggested that Cretan reminiscences did in fact survive in the legends of the Syrian coast-line.⁴ Others would regard the Philistines as a people of Asia Minor, who may well have passed over into Crete after the fall of Knossos, and then two centuries later migrated from Crete and settled in Palestine.⁵ The problem of the origin of the Philistines can indeed hardly be satisfactorily solved on such fragments of evidence as we at present possess.

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Of their arrival on the coast-line which was thereafter to bear their name we have no account in the Bible, but, though there is no explicit reference to their coming, their settlement in Canaan may be reflected in the story of the migration from the South of the Hebrew tribe Dan to Laish in the North : it may well have been the Philistine conquest which forced the Danites to desert their homes.⁶ The Philistines—these “uncircumcised”⁷ invaders dwelling in a Semitic land—retained for their cities the former Semitic names, and would seem to have identified their own gods with those of their Semitic subjects, *e.g.*, Dagon and Ashtoreth ; it is quite possible that they themselves came to speak a Semitic dialect. Their five principal towns—Gaza, Ashkelon, Gath, Ashdod and Ekron—were doubtless united in a federation of city states. Of these in early times Ashdod appears to have held the foremost place : it was in the temple of Dagon in Ashdod that the ark of Jehovah was deposited after its capture at Ebenezer (1 Samuel v. 1). Ashkelon, the only Philistine city actually situated on the coast, possessed a harbour which provided adequate shelter for the ships of the ancient world, but Gaza, the most famous of the five towns, was “the outpost of Africa, the door of Asia” (G. A. Smith) ; here the caravan route from Edom and Arabia reached the sea, while strategically the city barred the maritime road to Phœnicia and Syria.⁸ The operations of the Great War in 1917 only demonstrated afresh the military significance of Gaza. The five cities of the Philistines were governed by “lords” : in the Bible account they are represented as meeting in council

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and acting in concert as leaders of their people : there is no certain evidence for a single king of the whole Philistine folk. The strength of their well-organised army lay in its infantry, trained in the use of the bow, though they also possessed a chariot force.⁹

We see in the Philistines a conquering aristocracy ; they can live on the labour of subject-cultivators and give themselves to trade. Corn and wine were plentiful in their territory : Philistia became a great slave-mart. The rapid decline of the Philistine power is doubtless due to the fact that the military aristocracy did not retain its native vigour ; it was gradually merged in the original Semitic population.¹⁰

But before that decline the Philistine had ceased to be content with the possession of the maritime plain and had advanced to the conquest of the interior. In the Samson stories the Philistine domination over the divided Hebrew clans is complete and openly acknowledged : " The Philistines are rulers over us " is the admission of the men of Judah.¹¹ How long that domination lasted we do not know, but, the arm of flesh having failed them, the Hebrews united to repel the foe through supernatural aid : the ark of Jehovah was fetched from Shiloh. At first superstitious terror of the holy object seized upon the Philistines, but with the cry " Be strong and be men, that ye be not slaves to the Hebrews as they have been to you," fear was banished. There followed a slaughter of the Israelites and the capture of the ark. The Palladium of the Hebrews was carried in triumph to the shrine of Dagon—perhaps the national god of the Philistine

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people. The news of the disaster caused the death of Eli, the aged priest of the high place at Shiloh (? c. 1080 B.C.).¹³

But a plague, mice-borne,¹³ devastated Philistia ; the ark was restored to Kirjath-jearim, and Samuel, who had, it would appear, been a prophet at the shrine of Shiloh during the life-time of Eli, summoned the men of Israel to Mizpah to a feast of purification and repentance (1 Samuel vii. 5). This peaceful assemblage was attacked by the Philistines. In Philistia Jehovah had shown his power in plague, and now on Jehovah's own land an unarmed gathering of his worshippers was assailed : would not Jehovah defend his folk with a yet more signal manifestation of his might ? There may well have been many misgivings amongst the men of Ashdod and of Gath—Sisera, they remembered, had been overthrown by this same Lord of the Storm, the God of Sinai. And then—suddenly—upon them, too, the storm bursts, and Jehovah launches against them peal on peal of thunder. Blind panic overmasters them : they are pursued down to Beth-car.¹⁴

Samuel had inspired the Hebrews with a new confidence : it was sorely needed, for the Philistine was not their only foe. Nahash, the Ammonite, was attacking Jabesh-Gilead : the appeal of the besieged reached Gibeah of Benjamin, and Saul answered the cry, and summoned the Hebrews to come forth " after Saul and after Samuel " : Jabesh-Gilead was saved. The Hebrews had found their champion. They would have a king, as had other peoples, to lead them against their national enemy, and Saul was consecrated for the war against the

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Philistine. The revolt against the domination of the Philistine garrisons was begun, and at Michmash the uncircumcised were routed. David as Saul's trusted lieutenant won the battle of Ephes-Dammin, and turned Hebrew flight to victory. But at Gilboa the leader of the national insurrection fell, and the Philistine reasserted his supremacy. The armour of the dead Saul was hung in the house of Ashtoreth, and it was close to the banks of the Jordan, on the city-wall of Beth-shean¹⁵ that his body was fastened. The bitterness of that day of disaster has been immortalised by David's threnody. It was only in Transjordan that Eshbaal could maintain the kingship which his father had founded :¹⁶ it was doubtless as a vassal of the Philistines that David ruled in Hebron. When, on the death of Eshbaal, all the Hebrews recognised in David their common leader, the Philistines marched against the king of a united Israel. But in three great battles their power was broken for ever : even in the troubles of David's later years the Philistines failed to make any use of their opportunity. Philistines served in David's bodyguard, and, when Absalom had stolen from his father the hearts of the Hebrews, Ittai of Gath was among the few who remained faithful to their king.

From the Philistine the Hebrew would seem to have borrowed little : the prophets inveighed against the idolatries which had been introduced from amongst most of the peoples who surrounded the Promised Land, but of the abominations of the Philistine they say not a word. Even Baal-Zebub of Ekron, whose fly-oracle¹⁷ was consulted by Ahaziah, was doubtless worshipped long before the Philistine

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inherited his shrine : his Semitic name is witness that he was originally no Philistine deity. But if the Philistine brought little to the Hebrew save the yoke of a bitter oppression, yet that oppression is itself of profound significance for the history of Israel : from the passion for liberation from that yoke was born Israel's demand for a king : the Philistine created the Hebrew monarchy. The Hebrew tribes, as we see them in the stories of the Book of Judges, were fast losing the consciousness of national unity : in the flight from a common slavery in Egypt that consciousness had been won ; in the struggle against a common oppressor that consciousness was recovered. For us the most important achievement of the Philistines is just this—that they welded together the clans of Israel so that through a monarchy based on a people's choice the conviction of a people's unity was reaffirmed.* Throughout the centuries that monarchy remained the symbol of Israel's ideal unity : from the stock of Jesse, from the house of David, the Messiah, Israel's Anointed King, was to be born.

* It is probably at this time that the remnants of the "Hebrew" (Habiru) people which had not previously identified themselves with Israel were finally absorbed by the Israelites.

VI

THE UNITED MONARCHY

WE have seen the political conditions from which arose the Hebrew kingship. The origin of that kingship is associated in our sources with the prophet Samuel; as it had been in the days of Deborah, so now, when a new oppression threatened the Hebrew nation, the courage to resist that oppression came from the devoted followers of Jehovah, the God of Battles.¹ It was the spirit of the Lord which stirred Saul to action, as it was "the dread of the Lord" falling upon the people which brought them forth as one man to the relief of Jabesh-Gilead. Jehovah had made of land and people his inheritance: woe be to them if "they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty." It is precisely at this time that in the Bible story we first meet with the ecstatic prophets of Jehovah — perhaps themselves an outcome of the new religious enthusiasm which inspired the national resistance.² Saul may well have received the inspiration to issue his summons to the Hebrews from Samuel, who, disappointed in his own sons (1 Samuel viii. 1-3), had discerned a capacity for leadership in the young Benjamite.³ The kingship in Israel was born of a religious appeal, and that appeal was

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the answer to the challenge of the alien oppressor. The duty of the king was thus to fight the battles of the Lord. (See I Samuel viii. 4-22.)

But the prophet in the name of Jehovah sought to control the king of his choice: there followed so profound a difference between prophet and king that after the Amalekite campaign Samuel could solemnly pronounce the deposition of Saul: "Thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, and the Lord hath rejected thee from being king over Israel." It was under the menace of the prophet's ban that the champion of Jehovah fought his later wars against Moab and Ammon, against Aram Beth-Rehob⁴ and the king of Zobah. The gloom darkens about the king: the dead prophet haunts his thought: his shape rises before him in the cavern of Endor; it is as a supremely tragic figure that Saul meets his death on the field of Gilboa. Saul's rejection by Jehovah has coloured the whole account of his reign, and when men had felt the crushing weight of the royalty of Solomon they put into the mouth of the prophet who had chosen Saul for his task a picture of the burdens which that kingship would bring in its train. For David, the light of glory: for Saul, the shadow of Jehovah's displeasure.

At Hebron, as we have seen, David probably ruled as a vassal of the Philistines, but after Eshbaal's fall David became the king of a united Israel. It was no longer safe to leave him in peace: the Philistines advanced to the attack,⁵ and spread themselves in the Valley of Rephaim—usually identified with the small plain south west of Jerusalem—only to suffer defeat at Baal-Perazim. The site of

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the battle-field is unknown. A second time the Philistines assembled in the same valley : David marched to Jerusalem (? = " the hold " of 2 Samuel v. 17), and pursued the enemy by way of Geba (N. of Jerusalem) in the direction of Gezer. It is a natural suggestion that the Philistines were in alliance with the Jebusites, and had chosen the Jebusite fortress for their military base : they would thus bar the advance of any relieving force sent by the Hebrews of the North. Five and a half years after his recognition as King of Israel David determined to capture the Jebusite fortress ; the city appeared to its defenders impregnable. It may well be that it was only by surprise that Jerusalem was taken, Joab and his followers making their way into the fortress through the tunnel of the ancient subterranean watercourse (2 Samuel v. 8) which was rediscovered in the last century, while David attacked the city from the North.⁶ To Jerusalem David moved his court, and prepared in his turn to take the aggressive, but before marching against the Philistines he decided to bring the ark of Jehovah into his new capital.⁷ After a delay of three months, caused by the death of Uzzah, the symbol of Jehovah's presence was carried with ecstatic joy within the walls : the moment of this popular national enthusiasm was seized by the king for beginning the campaign which, as we have seen, finally broke the strength of the Philistines.⁸

Henceforth Jerusalem, wrested from the Jebusite, became the capital of the Hebrew kingdom ; within the fortifications which David strengthened was guarded the sacred ark of Israel's God. Though

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prophetic conservatism for a time delayed the building of a temple for Jehovah, Jerusalem was thereafter not only the political centre of the Hebrews, but a Holy City :⁹ before its walls even the pestilence was stayed. Within the Holy City ruled the priest-king,¹⁰ the Anointed of Jehovah, and the divine election gave to the monarch a sanctity which no mere choice of man could have conferred. The Philistine menace was no more, and the Hebrew kingdom could extend its boundaries by wars of conquest : the Amalekites were defeated, Edom was invaded and garrisons were placed throughout the land ; the Moabites became servants to David, and paid tribute. Nahash, the Ammonite, concluded an alliance with Israel, but when, on the death of Nahash, his son and successor, Hanun, had treated David's ambassadors with flagrant insult, the Ammonites realised that they were unable in their own strength to repel the Hebrew attack. They therefore called to their aid the Aramæan principalities of Syria ; the kingdoms of Beth-Rehob (? immediately N. of Ammon) and Zobah (N.W. of Damascus between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon) were represented by 20,000 infantry, the king of Maachah, south of Hermon, brought 1000, while the men of Tob numbered 12,000.¹¹ While Joab, David's commander-in-chief, attacked the Syrians, his brother Abishai faced the Ammonites. The Syrians were routed, and as a result of this defeat the Ammonites withdrew to their capital, while Joab returned to Jerusalem. Hadadezer, the king of Zobah, then enlisted Aramæan mercenaries from beyond the Euphrates ; but at Helam (? not

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far from the River Yarmuk) Hadadezer's general Shobach was defeated by David and lost his life. In this campaign David would seem to have led in person the Hebrew forces. The Syrian coalition made peace with Israel and served them : so the Syrians feared to help the children of Ammon any more. The consequence of this campaign was the resumption by the Hebrew kingdom of the war with Ammon. At the end of the winter season—"at the time when kings go out to battle"—Joab began the siege of the Ammonite capital Rabbah : here Uriah the Hittite lost his life. David left Jerusalem to be present at the capture of the city, and the victory of Israel was complete. The empires of the ancient world were slumbering ; there was now no power in Western Asia which could withstand the Hebrew advance. The army of David could march in triumph through Syria to the Euphrates. It was to the River Euphrates that Hadadezer went "to recover his kingdom," and there met with a disastrous defeat.¹² The Syrians of Damascus then advanced to his support—only to suffer a like fate. "Then David put garrisons in Syria of Damascus, and the Syrians became servants of David and brought presents" : two cities of Hadadezer, Berothai (in the Lebanon) and Tebah (? E. of Sidon : Betah in the Hebrew), were captured, from which "David took exceeding much brass." Toi, the (Hittite ?) king of Hamath sent his son Joram with costly gifts to congratulate David on his victory—"to salute him and to bless him, because he had fought against Hadadezer and smitten him : for Hadadezer had wars with Toi."¹³ It was these

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campaigns of David which enabled Solomon to exercise control from Thapsacus on the Euphrates to Gaza (1 Kings iv. 24), while even the statement of 2 Chronicles viii. 4, that Solomon fortified Palmyra does not seem incredible, for Palmyra (Tadmor) was then a military base, from which the roving Aramæans were kept in check.¹⁴

“And the Lord gave victory to David wherever he went,” and victory brought treasure and prestige: men were willing to serve as mercenaries in the bodyguard of the conqueror. From Phœnicia came craftsmen and materials for the building of the royal palace, foreign wives entered the king’s harem: the beginnings of a court with regular court officials can be traced: by the side of Joab, the commander-in-chief, we find the court recorder, Jehoshaphat, and Seraiah, the royal secretary.

During the rule of Saul¹⁵ everything tends to suggest that life at the Hebrew court remained simple—that no regal luxury burdened his subjects; but already under David army and court, the fortification and adornment of the new capital, must have entailed heavy expense. As yet, however, there is little trace of any far-reaching administrative organisation: there may have been a tax on wool, but in general the king would seem to have resorted to the irregular exaction of supplies as they were needed for his army, and to enforced labour for the building of his palace and for the maintenance of fortifications. The king’s determination to take a census of the people may well have been inspired by the wish to estimate the resources of his realm; but his foreign conquests doubtless brought much

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wealth into Palestine, and for the time the question of the royal revenue may have been less pressing. Yet popular discontent caused by the exactions of the king's agents and by the hated *corvée* must have been largely responsible for the domestic revolts of David's later years.

Solomon entered into the heritage of David's achievement, and with him came the administrative organisation of the kingdom. It is unfortunate that the admirable historical source to which we owe our knowledge of David's reign comes to an end with Solomon's accession: the First Book of Kings from chapter iii onwards breathes another spirit: the history of Solomon's reign is for the writer of this later document Church History—its crown and signal achievement the building of the Temple. Thus any account of Solomon's reign must necessarily be incomplete. At least we know enough to see that the king's aim was to make of Israel a "great power"—to exploit to the full the resources which the victories of David had secured. The kingdom was divided into twelve districts, each of which was bound to support the royal establishment for one month of the year.¹⁶ Solomon's buildings in Jerusalem—above all the construction of the Temple—the maintenance of garrisons in many towns which would safeguard the peaceful passage of the merchant caravans, all these must have meant a vast expenditure when contrasted with the poverty of an agricultural country. Horses were imported from Egypt,¹⁷ and cavalry and war chariots were added to the infantry regiments with which David had fought his campaigns (cf. 2 Samuel viii. 4).

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Though an Egyptian army captured Gezer,¹⁸ yet Solomon secured a favourable peace, married a daughter of the Pharaoh, and recovered Gezer as the dowry of the Egyptian princess. For his bride Solomon built a separate palace in Jerusalem. Contact with Egypt must have been close and constant: the land of the Nile provided a natural asylum for political refugees—it was to Egypt that both the revolting Jeroboam and Hadad of Edom fled for safety. The conquests of David were for the most part successfully retained: the revolt of Edom was suppressed, but Rezon, a fugitive from the court of Zobah after David's victory over Hadadezer raised a band of followers and later occupied Damascus,¹⁹ “and he was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon, and he abhorred Israel, and reigned over Syria” (1 Kings xi. 23-25). Rezon would thus appear to have been the founder of that Aramæan kingdom of Damascus which was to be the most persistent of Israel's foes during the period of the divided monarchy.

Like David, Solomon maintained friendship with Hiram, king of Tyre, and Phœnician handicraft adorned the Temple. Twenty cities of Galilee were ceded to Hiram in repayment for the cedars, the firs and the gold which Tyre furnished for Solomon's buildings. With Phœnician support Solomon took part in the Eastern trade with Ophir (? S.E. coast of Arabia),²⁰ whence were obtained gold and silver, ivory and precious stones for the treasure of the king. A ship of Solomon's joined the Mediterranean fleet of Hiram in voyages to Tartessos in Spain.²¹

This material splendour must have been ac-

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accompanied by a many-sided literary activity at the Hebrew court. David was himself a poet—that is proved by the magnificent threnody on the tragedy of Gilboa—and there is no reason to doubt that Hebrew psalmody owed much to David and to the poets of his court. Solomon may well have composed the dedication hymn for the consecration of Jehovah's Temple, but it was not as poet, but as a master of riddles and proverbial wisdom that the king was famed. Riddle and proverb are indeed closely related: the riddle is often but the proverb in question form. The early wisdom-literature is international in character; this is clearly expressed in our earliest statement on the wisdom of Solomon: "And God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the sea-shore. And Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East, and all the wisdom of Egypt. For he was wiser than all men; than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman and Calcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol: and his fame was in all the nations round about. And he spake three thousand proverbs; and his songs were a thousand and five. And he spake of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beast, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes. And there came of all peoples to hear the wisdom of Solomon, from all kings of the earth, which had heard of his wisdom" (1 Kings iv. 29-34). It was to prove the wisdom of Solomon through riddles that the Queen of Sheba travelled to the Hebrew court.²²

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Our present book of Proverbs consists of a collection of six different books, and of these only three (1st, 2nd and 4th) are expressly characterised as "Proverbs of Solomon": the composition of the fourth book is precisely dated to the reign of Hezekiah: these proverbs were "collected by the men of Hezekiah." The main body of the whole of our Book of Proverbs is dated by Gressmann to the period of the monarchy (c. eighth or seventh century B.C.). It had long been suspected that for these Hebrew proverbs the model had been provided by the wisdom-literature of Egypt: this supposition has now, it would seem, been raised to a certainty by Wallis Budge's publication of the *Wisdom of Amen-em-ope*,²³ which furnishes direct parallels to Proverbs xxii. 17-xxiii. 11. If the Egyptian text is rightly dated c. 1000 B.C., it may well have been known to Solomon, and translated at his court. Diplomacy needed men who knew the language of allied kingdoms, and the royal scribes were "the born intermediaries in the international exchange of literature." Proverbial sayings thus became "winged words," which were not confined by national boundaries. Meri-ka-re in the Egypt of (?) c. 2000 B.C. can write "Justice of the heart is more acceptable to God than the sacrifice of an ox if offered by the unjust": Samuel in his protest to Saul echoes the same thought (1 Samuel xv. 22): it recurs in the Proverbs of Solomon (xxi. 3) "to do justice and judgment is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice." But it is not only in psalm and hymn, in riddle and proverb, that the men of the united monarchy expressed their thought; it was

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probably at this time that the reawakened national consciousness of the Hebrews gathered up the legacy of the traditions of the people's past and fashioned that wonderful story of Israel's origins which underlies the history alike of Jehovahist (Jahvist) and Elohist. That *textus receptus* of Jehovah's way with the folk of his inheritance is the greatest gift to the world of the united Hebrew monarchy.

Solomon was, indeed, no ordinary Oriental despot: gradually the representatives of the royal administration of justice took their place by the side of the aristocracy of the village, an appeal was open from local oppression to the royal judgment, and the wisdom of Solomon as judge is vouched for by the attribution to him of the far-travelled Indian tale of "the Judgment of Solomon." To-day Solomon in the East is the Prince of Magicians: that conception mirrors not untruly the figure of the king as it must have appeared to the Hebrews of his day: he possessed the "Open Sesame" to a world of undreamed splendours—read again the story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba. But for the glories of court and capital the people paid, and the price was high. As we look back on this brief period of Hebrew supremacy, we are struck with the rapidity of that amazing transition in the fortunes of the nation effected during the reign of David: within a single generation Israel had passed from subjection under the yoke of the Philistine to the possession of a realm which stretched from the Euphrates to the borders of Egypt. The people which in the days of Saul had been vassals of the "uncircumcised," were under Solomon concluding treaties with the neighbouring

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powers on the footing of honoured equals. But the transition was in fact too rapid: the Palestinian peasant could not be transformed overnight into a merchant—not even by the magic of Solomon. Canaan was a poor land: she had no arts, no manufactures of her own: she could not, as could Babylon, export her produce to the markets of the foreigner; wherewith should she pay for the buildings of the king, for the luxuries of the East? Torn from the soil and in their thousands subjected to forced labour (1 Kings v. 13-18), the Hebrew peasants were yet compelled to supply provisions in kind for the upkeep of the court. When the wars of conquest were over, the economic basis was too slight to support a royalty such as Solomon had conceived. “From the economic point of view, the administration of Solomon was detestable.”²⁴

But it was not only the economic bases of the nation's life which were endangered by the policy of the king: that policy brought the worship of foreign deities into the newly founded capital, and thus in the religious sphere the achievement of David was jeopardised. The wives whom Solomon took from Egypt and Moab, from Ammon and Edom and Sidon carried to the court of Jerusalem the gods of their home-land, and “when Solomon was old, his wives turned away his heart after other gods. . . . For Solomon went after Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Sidonians, and after Milcom, the abomination of the Ammonites. . . . Then did Solomon build an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the mount that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech, the abomination of the

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children of Ammon. And so did he for all his strange wives which burnt incense and sacrificed unto their gods" (1 Kings xi. 1-8). Alliances concluded between pagan powers brought with them alliances between their divine protectors, and deities, like secular sovran, would travel on visits of ceremony to allied courts. When the Hebrew king entered into this world of diplomatic intercourse, the doors were thrown open to the gods of the nations. Jehovah, the jealous Lord of Israel, was beset with rivals: the worship of the austere God of the Wilderness Theophany was stifled amidst the luxury of city and court. It was a prophet of Jehovah—Ahijah the Shilonite—who instigated Jeroboam to his revolt; when the tribesmen of the North had followed the king of their choice, it was a prophet, Shemaiah, who declared in Jehovah's name that Judah and Benjamin should not fight against the revolting house of Israel, "for this thing is of Me."²⁵ Through a popular election the united monarchy was created, and through a popular election of a northern sovran that monarchy was overthrown. But behind both those elections was the inspiration of the prophet of Israel's God.

That united monarchy, despite its brief duration, was yet of profound significance for the history of Israel: it gave to the Hebrew Jerusalem, the Holy City, and the Temple, Jehovah's central shrine. In the processions which mounted to that Temple and in the courts of that Temple were sung the ritual chants and hymns which have gone to the making of our Book of ~~Pealms~~ *Psalms*.²⁶ Here the penitential prayers and the liturgies of Babylonia find their

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parallels, and are themselves outmatched.²⁷ The significance of the united monarchy is indeed to be found precisely in that which later generations made of Temple and of Holy City: the centuries, as they passed, only widened and deepened Israel's interpretation of that gift. Because it had been a *united* monarchy, it provided for Jewish thought the forms in which men cast their visions of a reunited Israel, of the Messianic kingdom. Between Saul the founder and Solomon the destroyer of that united monarchy, stood David, in whom Israel saw its ideal king, and thus with the house of David was united Israel's hope—the dream of that great David's Greater Son, in whom Jehovah's promises should find their fulfilment.²⁸

VII

SYRIA AND ASSYRIA

I.—ISRAEL

THE history of the divided Hebrew monarchy can only be understood when it is regarded as a part of the history of Western Asia, for the political development both of Israel and of Judah was throughout determined by their relation to the powers which lay beyond their borders. The northern kingdom by its geographical position was more immediately exposed to contact with this world of foreign states, in the early days to contact with the Phœnician cities and the Syrian kingdom of Damascus, and later to contact with "the brigand empire" of Assyria. In that later period it is only when Assyria is torn by domestic strife, or when Assyrian energies are diverted to combat other foes, that there is any real freedom of action for the smaller states of South-western Asia. It is no easy task to simplify this story and to summarise in brief outline the course of its ebb and flow; a writer must perforce make heavy demands upon the patience of his readers. All that can be attempted here is to bring into high relief the moments of transition in the political history of the powers

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which controlled the destinies of the Hebrew kingdoms, and to trace the effect of those moments of transition upon the fortunes of Israel and of Judah. This sketch of the relations of the Hebrews with the great world beyond their frontiers is intended only to drive the reader back to a fresh study of the passion and the striving of Elijah, of Amos, of Hosea and Isaiah—to a reconsideration of the message of men who beyond and above the kings and emperors of their day caught glimpses of One sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, with whose glory the earth was filled.

Judah under Solomon had been less heavily burdened than the northern tribes; when, on Solomon's death, Israel demanded of Rehoboam a lightening of those burdens, the counsel of wisdom was disregarded, and Rehoboam's threat—"my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions" (1 Kings xii. 14)—broke into two the kingdom which had, with difficulty, been welded together by the diplomacy of David.¹ It was to no purpose that Rehoboam came to Shechem to receive the homage of the northern tribesmen: the old cry of the disaffected was raised yet again (cf. 2 Samuel xx. 1): "What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel—now see to thine own house, David!" Jeroboam ben Nebat, returned from his Egyptian exile, was king in Shechem, and Rehoboam fled for Jerusalem. Adoram, who, under Solomon, had haled Hebrews to the *corvée*, was stoned with stones that he died. Solomon and all his glory were buried; the civil war had begun. Jeroboam

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ruled over the North of Palestine and over the Ammonites and Moabites in Transjordan : of all David's conquests there remained to Judah Edom alone. That division of the Hebrew tribes was never healed : Hosea, under Jeroboam II, might still dream of the restoration of the shattered unity of the Hebrew people—of a time when the children of Judah and the children of Israel should be gathered together and should appoint themselves one head (Hosea i. 10-11)—but it was not to be : the decision of that fatal day when “ Ephraim departed from Judah ” (Isaiah vii. 17) remained irrevocable.

The revolt of Jeroboam was followed by half a century of warfare between Israel and Judah, while the northern kingdom was weakened by successive dynastic revolutions. Egypt once more intervened in Palestine, and Shishak plundered Jerusalem.² That expedition was, however, but a raid for spoil : Egypt could not dream of recovering the Asiatic Empire of the Thutmosids. Of far greater importance was the kingdom of Damascus, which Rezon had founded in the days of Solomon. Abijah, King of Judah, had seized Northern Benjamin ; Baasha of Israel entered into alliance with Benhadad of Damascus, and, thus reinforced, won back the territory which Jeroboam had lost. That pact with the alien set a fatal precedent ; Asa of Judah in his turn purchased the help of Benhadad, and a Syrian invasion of Northern Palestine enabled the southern kingdom to destroy the fortress which Israel was erecting at Ramah, and to build Geba of Benjamin and Mizpah as outposts against the North. With

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the accession of Omri Israel attained to a power and prosperity which were only equalled under Jeroboam II. The statesmanship of the founder of the dynasty is shown in his choice of Samaria for his capital, magnificently set upon a hill, surrounded by deep valleys.³ The gates of Samaria were only once opened to a foreign foeman, and on that day the northern kingdom perished. Omri revived Solomon's policy of alliance with Tyre, and Ethbaal, king of Tyre, gave his daughter Jezebel in marriage to the king of Israel. Ethbaal, before he slew his predecessor and seized the crown, had been priest of Ashtoreth, and Jezebel brought with her to her new home the cult of Baal of Tyre and of his consort Ashtoreth. Omri was, it is true, forced to surrender twenty cities to the king of Damascus and to open bazaars for the Syrian merchants in Samaria, but this concession was outweighed by his conquest of half the Moabite kingdom. The new dynasty further put an end to the civil war between Israel and Judah, and peace was definitely concluded between Omri's son Ahab and Jehoshaphat of Judah. The southern kingdom is henceforth the subject ally of Israel, and is bound to support the North in its wars.⁴ This alliance was followed by the marriage of Joram, the son of Jehoshaphat, to the Israelite princess Athaliah, and in consequence of this union the Hebrew kingdoms were able to hold their own against their Syrian foes. Benhadad II of Damascus therefore formed a coalition of thirty-two⁵ Syrian dynasts (I Kings xx. 1), and demanded Ahab's submission. Ahab was prepared to surrender his treasure and his family, but when Benhadad further

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claimed the right of search in palace and city with power to carry off as spoil any treasure that might take his fancy, Ahab refused to bow before the arrogance of Syria, and successfully surprised and routed the forces of Damascus. Differences broke out among Benhadad's allies, and in the next year the Israelites won a crushing victory at Aphek: the cities which Omri had ceded to Benhadad's father were restored to Ahab, and bazaars were now opened in Damascus for the merchants of Israel. Both powers, however, were anxious to put an end to the war, for both alike were menaced by the westward advance of Assyria. This intervention of Assyria marks a turning-point in the history of Western Asia; it created new problems for kings and diplomats: it changed the centre of gravity in the political world.

The Assyrian Empire was founded by Ashurnasirpal III (884-860 B.C.). His army was composed of a vigorous peasantry—its principal weapon the bow. It was Ashurnasirpal who initiated that scythe-like movement of the Assyrian forces which year after year devastated the north of the "Fertile Crescent" until it reached the Lebanons and the Phœnician sea-board. During the long period of Assyrian inactivity the Aramæan states on the Euphrates and in Northern Syria had been free to go their own ways: this freedom was now at an end.⁶ Carchemish and the states on the Euphrates were reduced by Ashurnasirpal, who then advanced into Northern Syria and received tribute from the Phœnician cities. Shalmaneser on his accession to the Assyrian throne in 860 was faced by a general revolt both in

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Northern Syria and on the Euphrates; ⁷ this he crushed, and in 854 B.C. the way was open for an advance into Central Syria, where Damascus and Hamath barred the approaches to Palestine and Philistia, and thus to the western end of the caravan trade-route from Arabia. It was probably in view of the peril from the eastern empire that Israel and Damascus, as we have seen, hastened to conclude a peace after the Syrian defeat at Aphek. At the battle of Karkar 854 B.C. (which is not mentioned in the Old Testament) among the twelve kings who withstood Shalmaneser were found those of Damascus, of Hamath, and of Israel. The allies were defeated and withdrew to the valley of the Orontes. Here a second battle was fought, and though Shalmaneser boasts that he dammed the river with the corpses of his foes as with a bridge, it is probable that he suffered a repulse, otherwise he would surely have pressed on to Hamath.⁸ Ahab had supported Benhadad⁹ against Assyria, but now that Damascus had been weakened by Shalmaneser's attack, the king of Israel thought that it was a favourable moment for the recapture of the Transjordanian territory previously occupied by Damascus. In concert with Jehoshaphat of Judah the northern kingdom undertook forthwith an attack upon Ramoth-Gilead. Though the Hebrews won a victory, Ahab was wounded and died, and on the death of the king the army retired to Samaria.

In the reign of Ahab's son, Ahaziah, Mesa of Moab rebelled; the consequent loss of prestige by the northern kingdom is reflected in the fact that Jehoshaphat of Judah ventured to refuse the

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suggestion of Ahaziah that Israel should share in Jehoshaphat's attempted revival of the trade with Ophir (1 Kings xxii. 48-50). Ahaziah fell from the upper storey of his palace; in the second year of his rule he died of his injuries, and was succeeded by his brother Joram. Together with Jehoshaphat Joram marched to Moab to subdue the insurrection there: though Elisha prophesied victory, though the Moabites were put to flight and their attempt to break through into Edom failed, yet when upon the walls of his city, Kir-hareseth, the king of Moab had sacrificed his eldest son to his god Chemosh, the Hebrews would seem to have been smitten with panic fear, and Moab was left to its independence.¹⁰ Shortly after, Edom followed Moab's example, revolted from Judah, restored the kingship and successfully asserted its freedom; at the same time Philistines and Arabians sacked Jerusalem.¹¹ Israel's disaster in the Moabite campaign would seem to have led to a Syrian invasion of the northern kingdom.¹² Benhadad of Damascus set siege to Samaria; the city was saved by the rumour which reached Benhadad of a threatened assault upon his own capital.¹³ The Syrian army was hastily withdrawn. Not long after this Benhadad was murdered by Hazael, a low-born usurper, and at the news of this revolution Joram of Israel, together with Ahaziah of Judah, renewed the attack upon Ramoth-Gilead. In this campaign Joram was wounded; he left his army and returned to be healed in Jezreel of the wounds which the Syrians had given him. Here he was visited by Ahaziah of Judah. The absence of the kings from the Israelite camp before

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Ramoth-Gilead gave to Jehu his opportunity. Elisha, according to 2 Kings ix., had been the first to suggest to Jehu the thought of overthrowing the house of Omri: he should sweep from the land the abomination of the worship of the Tyrian Baal. Jehu was proclaimed king by the army, and then hastened to Jezreel, where both Joram and Ahaziah were assassinated. Jehu, as the champion of Jehovah, put to death the Queen-Mother Jezebel, and with her there perished those members of the royal family of Judah who were paying a visit to the court of Israel." Thus was overthrown the house of Omri: in an orgy of bloodshed the cause of Jehovah triumphed (? 842 B.C.).¹⁴

In the year of Jehu's revolution, while the West was distracted by anarchy and disunion, Shalmaneser advanced into Syria. Hamath must have granted free passage to the Assyrians; Hazael, the usurper, was defeated and retired on Damascus. Shalmaneser, however, did not venture to lay siege to the Syrian capital, but turned westward, and reached the sea at the promontory above Beirut¹⁵ Here he received tribute from Tyre and Sidon, and from Jehu of Israel. Jehu had been commissioned to free Israel from the worship of the gods of Tyre, but as soon as he had secured the throne, he reverted to the policy of Omri and joined with Tyre and Sidon in submission to Assyria. These three states made their bid for Assyrian friendship and thereby declared themselves the foes of Damascus.¹⁶ This act helps to account for the embittered hostility of Hazael against the Hebrew kingdoms. In 839 Shalmaneser once more attacked Damascus, but

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without success; thereafter Assyria was occupied in operations against foes on her northern frontier. Now that the Assyrian armies were detained in the East, there was none to check the animosity of Hazael, and he turned in fury against Israel. Under Jehu Hazael smote the Hebrews "in all the coasts of Israel." His earliest blows were directed "from Jordan eastwards" (2 Kings x. 32-33) upon the territory of Gilead and Bashan. "They have threshed Gilead with iron threshing sledges" was the accusation of Amos (i. 3). It was the signal for a general attack upon the Hebrews by the neighbouring peoples: there was an invasion by the Philistines, who handed over their captives to Edom: Edom "cast off all pity, and did tear perpetually": even Tyre "remembered not the brotherly covenant" which had for so many years bound it to Israel (Amos i.).¹⁷ The humiliation of Israel was complete. Under Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, the Hebrews were made "like the dust in threshing."¹⁸ Nor was the southern kingdom spared: Hazael would seem to have conquered all Philistia as far as Aphek in Sharon; Gath was captured, and thence Hazael's army marched against Jerusalem. Joash was defeated (2 Chronicles xxiv. 23-24) and a heavy tribute exacted from the treasures of Temple and of palace (2 Kings xii. 18).

But with the death of Hazael of Damascus and the accession of Benhadad III, the tide of Syrian victory began to ebb, for the whole political situation was changed by the reappearance of an Assyrian army in Western Asia. The Assyrian king Adad-nirari IV (807-782 B.C.) laid siege to Damascus

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and extorted tribute from Benhadad.¹⁹ The effect of this Assyrian advance is reflected in the three victories of Joash of Israel over Damascus, by which he recovered from Benhadad the cities which Hazael had captured from the northern kingdom. The western states—Phœnicia, Israel, Edom and Philistia—sent their tribute to Adadnirari IV, and probably sent it not unwillingly, since Assyrian intervention meant for them liberation from the tyranny of Damascus.

Ashurdan of Assyria campaigned against Damascus with success in 773, but after 765 the eastern empire ceased its Syrian campaigns. Once again the withdrawal of the Assyrian armies produces an immediate effect in the politics of Western Asia. Damascus weakened, Assyria dormant, the Hebrews were free to take the aggressive. There follows the culmination of the power of Israel under Jeroboam II, the "Saviour" raised up by Jehovah (2 Kings xiii. 5; xiv. 26-27). During the eclipse of the military and economic power of Assyria Jeroboam was able to restore the border of Israel from the entering in of Hamath—the valley between the Lebanons—unto the sea of the Arabah—the Dead Sea. The capture of Karnaim—the fortress sanctuary of Astarte (Ashtoreth) lying on the tableland of Basan—and of Lo-Debar in Gilead was still the boast of Israel when Amos prophesied in the later years of Jeroboam. In Judah Amaziah had taken vengeance upon the Edomites for their former hostility in the time of Hazael and had captured Sela, though the later years of his reign had been clouded by his mad challenge to Joash of Israel,

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which had resulted in the humiliation of the capture of Jerusalem by the northern kingdom.²⁰ But his successor, Azariah, through his victory over Edom, was able to renew the sea-trade with Ophir. The walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt, the army reorganised and the Philistines punished for their aggression. The successes alike of Israel and of Judah were rendered possible by the decline of Damascus and the retirement of Assyria.

Yet the reign of Jeroboam II was after all but an Indian summer. Jeroboam's son and successor was murdered soon after his accession, and the assassin was in turn dethroned and put to death by Menahem. The decline of Assyria was arrested by Tiglath-Pileser III (746-728), whose vigour soon stayed the tide of Hebrew victory. From the first the Assyrian king set before him as his goal the reconquest of the West, but that was not possible until he should have broken the power of the Armenian kingdom of Urartu (upon Lake Van in Armenia) and subdued its allies in Northern Syria.²¹ This was achieved in the years 743-739 B.C. and then in 738 B.C. Rezin of Damascus paid his tribute to Tiglath-Pileser, while an Assyrian force marched to Samaria. Menahem may well have bought Assyrian support (cf. Hosea v. 13) at the price of 1000 talents of silver (2 Kings xv. 19: Pul=Tiglath-Pileser), while the anti-Assyrian party in Israel set its hopes on Egyptian intervention. "Ephraim is like a silly dove, without understanding: they call unto Egypt, they go to Assyria" (Hosea vii. 11).

It was thus natural that Pekah, who had succeeded Menahem's son as king of Israel, should seek in

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alliance with Damascus to form a strong coalition of the states of the West as a bulwark against Assyria. Judah must be forced to join the confederacy. Jotham refused this demand, and after his death the storm burst upon his successor, Ahaz. While Edomites and Philistines were incited to attack the southern kingdom (2 Chronicles xxviii. 17-19), Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel invaded Judah, defeated its army and invested Jerusalem. Their intention was to place their own nominee—the son of Tabeel—upon the throne (cf. 2 Chronicles xxviii. 5 *sqq.*; Isaiah vii.). Isaiah might urge that Judah's safety lay in no human alliance, but in complete dependence upon Jehovah: he might promise to Ahaz as a sign the birth of the wonder-child, Immanuel, born of a Jewish mother and destined to inaugurate a new era of peace and goodwill,²² but for Judah's king the peril was too imminent: disregarding the protests of Isaiah, Ahaz summoned Tiglath-Pileser to aid him against his foes. The threat of invasion sufficed to recall Rezin and Pekah to the north. In 734 B.C. Tiglath-Pileser wrested Naphtali and Dan from Israel and, having deported the population of these districts, advanced into Philistia, where Gaza was captured. In 733 B.C., while Rezin was shut up in Damascus, Pekah was dethroned by Hosea, who ruled as vassal of Assyria. At the long last, in 732 B.C., Damascus fell, and Rezin met his death;²³ Ahaz appeared before his overlord Tiglath-Pileser in the Syrian capital. For Israel, too, it was the beginning of the end. Hosea, refusing tribute, was ultimately deposed, and the siege of his capital was begun.²⁴

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After three years Samaria fell (? 721 B.C.),²⁵ and a new revolt in 720 B.C. only proved that resistance was hopeless. Sargon is said to have carried off more than 27,000 of the inhabitants, and these were settled partly in Haran (Mesopotamia), and partly in the province of Gosan around the mouth of the Chabur. Though it is true that the northern kingdom cannot have been depopulated—the peasantry must at least in large measure, have remained in Palestine—yet into the cities of Israel Assyrian garrisons were introduced, while an Assyrian governor administered the realm of Omri and Jeroboam II.²⁶

Thus throughout its history the policy of the northern kingdom was determined by its relations to foreign powers. And policy of state determined also the religious outlook of Israel. Omri's alliance with Tyre brought with it, as we have seen, the cult of the Tyrian Baal and of his consort Ashtoreth. Ahab was doubtless loyal in his own thought to Jehovah, but within his realm were congregated the priests of an alien god: here there was no place for that exclusive worship of Jehovah of which the prophets had dreamt when they sought to separate the northern tribes from the polytheistic cults of Solomon's capital. That prophetic vision of Israel's sole allegiance to Jehovah was revived in greater splendour in the message of Elijah. Within Jehovah's inheritance there was no room for the perilous complaisance of Ahab: the religion of the wilderness had raised once and for all the great alternative: Jehovah and Jehovah alone—or apostasy. We should probably regard the Elohist's story of

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Hebrew origins as one of the fruits of this struggle for loyalty to Israel's past. And when Elijah's disciple would have swept away the abominations of the Tyrian Jezebel, policy of state drove Jehu back to the paths which the house of Omri had trodden. Amongst the kings of Judah there is a succession of religious reformers: in Israel not one. When prosperity came with Jeroboam II, when men glorying in their achievements were looking for a yet more triumphant "Day of Jehovah," there came a voice from the wilderness of Tekoa to pour scorn upon the worship of the royal sanctuaries and to brand with infamy a prosperity which had bred only heartless injustice and bitter oppression. Hosea, the later contemporary of Amos, might hope for a return to the unity of the Davidic monarchy, when Ephraim and Judah should have relearnt the lesson of Jehovah's love, but Israel, turning distractedly now to Assyria, and now to Egypt, had no ears for the prophet's appeal, and Samaria followed Damascus to destruction.

II.—JUDAH

Judah was the literary and political heir of the northern kingdom: the prophecies of Amos and Hosea passed into her keeping; the Elohist's account of Israel's origins was treasured alongside of Judah's Jehovist (Jahvist) traditions; the liturgies and hymns of the Northern sanctuaries of Dan and Bethel and Shechem, it has been suggested,¹ were adapted to the ritual of Jerusalem, and even the law

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of Israel may have contributed to the Deuteronomic code.² But the political inheritance brought with it no corresponding gain. During the period of the divided monarchy Israel had intervened between Judah and the foreign powers of the North and East : only as vassal of the northern kingdom had the kings of the South met Syria or Assyria in battle. Egypt, it is true, had held Jerusalem to ransom : it was, however, but a passing incident ; the foes of Judah had lain at her doors—revolting Edom, invading Philistia. Not until Ahaz had appealed to Tiglath-Pileser, and had gone to meet his overlord in Damascus, did Assyrian influences enter Jerusalem and the copy of an Assyrian altar find its place in the Temple of Jehovah. But with the fall of Samaria Judah's frontier was the boundary of an Assyrian province. In Judah the cult of Jehovah had thus been less exposed to the peril of foreign worships than in Israel. Athaliah, a princess of the house of Omri, had for a time introduced the Baalim into the southern capital, but she had been swept away together with the abominations of Tyre in the religious revolution which placed Joash on the throne of David and thus renewed the efforts of Asa and Jehoshaphat to maintain the national tradition. That tradition had been defended alike by Levites, Rechabites and Nazarites—above all by the prophets of Jehovah.³ It was, we remember, from the southern kingdom that Amos came to make his protest at the royal sanctuary of Israel.

After the fall of the northern kingdom Ahaz remained Assyria's loyal vassal : he took no part in the northern revolt of 720. But with the accession

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of Hezekiah⁴ another spirit inspires the policy of Judah. Hezekiah's religious reform, if it destroyed Nehushtan, the ancient snake image which popular thought connected with Moses, must have made short work of the Assyrian altar of Ahaz.⁵ Revolt from Assyrian vassalage began in Ashdod (715 B.C.), where a new king took the place of Sargon's nominee. Judah, Edom and Moab, relying on the aid of Egypt,⁶ answered to the summons of Ashdod and refused their tribute: Isaiah's protests passed unheeded (Isaiah xx). It is perhaps at this time⁷ that we should place the embassy sent to Hezekiah by Merodach-Baladan (Marduk-apal-iddina), who since his victory over Sargon, won by the aid of Elam in 721 B.C., had held against Assyria Babylonia and its capital (cf. 2 Kings xx. 12 ff.). But Egypt, where Shabaka of Ethiopia had dethroned the Pharaoh Bocchoris (712 B.C.), gave no help; when in 711 B.C. Sargon marched to the West, the rebel of Ashdod fled from his city, and Sargon could style himself in his inscription "the subjugator of the land of Judah whose situation is far away." Those states, however, which, though sympathising with the revolt, had avoided active hostility, would seem to have been unmolested by Sargon, and this may be the reason why this Assyrian campaign is not mentioned in the Old Testament.

Sargon died in 705 B.C.; while his successor Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.) was engaged (703-702 B.C.) in operations against Merodach-Baladan, who, in concert with Elam, was defending his reoccupation of Babylonia, a new and widespread insurrection was organised in Western Asia. Isaiah once more

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protested, but in vain ; Hezekiah leagued himself with Luli of Sidon, while in Ekron and Ashkelon the pro-Assyrian vassal kings were deposed. Behind the revolt stood Egypt under its Ethiopian Pharaoh, Shabaka. In 701 B.C. Sennacherib left Nineveh to take vengeance on his revolting subjects. Sidon was reduced—its king fled to Cyprus—and Philistia invaded. Shabaka marched north, and at Eltekeh met the Assyrian forces ; there in the neighbourhood of Ekron the Egyptian advance was checked—Sennacherib claims to have won a great victory—Ekron was retaken and a bloody punishment inflicted : its pro-Assyrian king was reinstated. Lachish was besieged—that siege was pictured in the reliefs of the palace at Nineveh—and then the storm burst over Judah. The whole territory was ravaged, though Sennacherib must surely have found it difficult to justify the forty-six Judean *cities* which according to his boastful inscription were captured by his army. Hezekiah's realm was limited to the space within the walls of his capital. Isaiah had strained every nerve to prevent the rebellion of Hezekiah, but, in face of the brutalities of Sennacherib's troops, the prophet now pronounced Jehovah's vengeance upon Assyria : the Holy City of David would be protected by Israel's God from the murderous fury of its assailants. It was only when Hezekiah's soldiers were deserting to the enemy that the king made his submission to Sennacherib, and sent an embassy bearing rich tribute to Lachish. Sennacherib accepted the submission, but afterwards broke faith with Hezekiah and demanded unconditional surrender. This the king

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of Judah refused, relying upon the assurances of Isaiah; and then plague fell upon the Assyrian army, a rumour ran that Tirhakha was advancing from Egypt to renew the struggle, news came that Merodach-Baladan had once more invaded Babylonia: Sennacherib hastily recalled his army, and returned to Nineveh. In the following year Sennacherib was engaged in a campaign against his irrepressible foe, Merodach-Baladan; Hezekiah doubtless recovered the territory of Judah which Sennacherib had granted to those Philistine governors who had remained loyal to Assyria. Jehovah had indeed saved his city.⁸

But with the death of Hezekiah (date quite uncertain: ? between 693 B.C. and 685 B.C.) and the accession of his son Manasse, there followed a reaction in the policy of Judah. In 681 B.C. Sennacherib was assassinated (2 Kings xix. 7, 37);⁹ the West revolted, but Sennacherib's son Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.) reduced Sidon to obedience in 678 B.C. and in the following year all Phœnicia submitted: Manasse of Judah brought to Tyre his tribute and remained a loyal vassal of the Assyrian king. The series of Esarhaddon's Egyptian campaigns began in 675 B.C.,¹⁰ and after the conquest of Egypt by Assurbanipal (669-626 B.C.), the Assyrian power hemmed in Judah on every side. This fact is vividly reflected in the religious policy of Manasse. Assyrian deities were worshipped in Jerusalem; the symbols of Astarte were restored, houses were built for the sacred prostitutes in Jehovah's city, the Babylonian star-cultus—the worship of the host of Heaven—was openly practised, while statues of

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the horses of Shamash, the Sun-god, were erected at the entry of the Temple. It has been pointed out¹¹ that Parbar in 1 Chronicles xxvi. 18=Barbar, the Babylonian Sun-temple in Sippar. The mourning for the Babylonian Tammuz could be heard in the streets of Jerusalem.¹² Those who raised protests in the name of Jehovah were persecuted.

The relations of Judah and Assyria during the later years of Manasse's long reign are very obscure. It is, however, not impossible that Manasse may have been implicated in the revolt of Psammetichus in Egypt, and in consequence may have been carried a prisoner to Babylon (so 2 Chronicles xxxiii. 11-19). But after Psammetichus had finally shaken off the yoke of Assyrian vassalage (? c. 655 B.C.), the situation in the West was altered. It was now to the advantage of Assyria to create a strong buffer state between Egypt and Asia; so long as that buffer state was threatened with annexation by Egypt, self-interest would secure its loyalty to Assyria. In these conditions it was natural that Assurbanipal should restore Manasse to the throne of Judah, and should encourage him to fortify Jerusalem and to maintain garrisons in his territory which might repel Egyptian aggression. Dr Hall writes unkindly of Manasse that he was "content to vegetate interminably within the walls of Zion": no one could do much else beneath the shadow of the Assyrian upas tree! Manasse's son, Amon, remained loyal to Assurbanipal, and the worship of the eastern deities continued to be practised in Jerusalem. This policy was, it would seem, popular in Judah; for when after

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a short reign Amon, as the result of a palace conspiracy, was assassinated, the people forthwith put his murderers to death. Under the influence of the priests Josiah, a boy of eight years of age, was crowned king (639-8 B.C.).

In 626 B.C. Assurbanipal, the conqueror of Egypt and of Elam, died; he was the last great monarch of the Assyrian Empire. In the same year—the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign—the call of Jehovah came to Jeremiah. In 625 Nabopolassar, the newly appointed Assyrian viceroy of Babylonia, raised the standard of revolt and harried Assyria.¹³ About this time Phraortes of Media attacked Nineveh, but was repulsed. Cyaxares, his son, planned revenge upon Assyria, but was foiled of his vengeance when Assyria gained the help of Madyes the Scythian. Cyaxares was defeated by the Scyths, and Media was plundered. But the dreaded Scythian horsemen, who had driven the Cimmerians from South Russia into Asia, and had then themselves entered Asia by way of the Caucasus, were fickle allies. While the Scythians of the East had been confederate with Assyria, their fellow-tribesmen were ready to carry fire and sword through the western provinces of the empire.¹⁴ We learn from Herodotus¹⁵ of a great Scythian raid which swept down the Mediterranean coast-lands, devastated Philistia, and was only brought to a standstill by Psammetichus at the passage into Egypt. It cannot be determined with certainty whether Josiah's kingdom was ravaged by the Scythian invaders, but it is not improbable. We seem to hear the echo of their onset in the early oracles of Jeremiah :

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Hark, a runner from Dan !

A herald of evil from Ephraim's hills

Warn the people : Behold they come !

Let Jerusalem hear !

From the noise of horsemen and bowmen

All the land is in flight :

They crawl into caverns, hide in the thickets,

And scale the crags.

Every town is deserted

None dwell therein (ch. iv. 15, 16, 29).*

These early oracles of Jeremiah may well have been originally uttered under the menace of the Scythian inroad,¹⁶ and they are most naturally explained by an actual invasion of Hebrew territory. The Scythian devastation produced a change in the policy of Egypt. Through the successful revolt of Psammetichus Egypt had for many years enjoyed independence from her Assyrian conqueror. Now, while Judah, in terror of the Scythians, wavered between hopes of Egyptian or Assyrian support, Egypt, realising her own weakness, determined to reinforce her former enemy Assyria, as the one power which could restore order out of chaos. Though the immediate peril from the predatory host of the Scythians passed as rapidly as it had come, the changed Egyptian policy was, as we shall see, consistently pursued alike by Psammetichus and by his successor the Pharaoh Necho. While Nineveh was threatened by revolted Babylonia under Nabopolassar and by the Medes under Cyaxares, Assyria

* Skinner's translation, cf. J. Skinner: *Prophecy and Religion*. Cambridge, 1922, pp. 35-37.

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could no longer control her western conquests : Josiah may well have felt himself practically independent, and could extend his authority over the Assyrian province which had taken the place of the northern kingdom. The eighteenth year of Josiah's reign ¹⁷—622 B.C.—was marked by a religious reform which was destined to be of profound significance in the history of Israel. While repairs were being undertaken on the Temple, a "book of the law" was discovered by Hilkiah the high-priest : the temples of the ancient East were frequently used as depositories for important documents which would thus be protected by the sanctity of the shrine.¹⁸ Hilkiah showed the book to Shaphan the scribe, who brought it to the king. Josiah, on reading it, was struck with consternation, and forthwith gave orders that the religion of the state should be purified in accordance with its provisions. The Assyrian cults were banished from the city, the high places were profaned, and the worship of Jehovah was concentrated in Jerusalem—the place which Jehovah had chosen to cause his name to dwell there. Once and for all it should be rendered impossible to identify Jehovah with the countless Baals of the local sanctuaries. The law book was publicly read in Jerusalem, and king and people pledged themselves to its observance. Together they solemnly celebrated the Passover. The reform was carried into the northern kingdom, and at Bethel the sanctuary of the kings of Israel was destroyed.¹⁹ As in the days of the wilderness wandering, so once more in the Promised Land the rule of the single sanctuary was proclaimed. Priest and prophet were united in a

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common enthusiasm, and Jeremiah welcomed the reform.²⁰

But the political aspect of this religious revolution must not be overlooked: ²¹ Josiah's studied insult to the gods of Assyria was an open defiance of his overlord. That defiance Nineveh, tottering to her fall, could not avenge: in the years which followed the reform, while Inner Asia was distracted with wars, Josiah's kingdom was at peace: the prophets of Jehovah were content: Jeremiah, looking back on Josiah's reign could write of the king:

"Did he not . . . do judgment and justice? The cause of the poor and needy he judged. Then was it well."

In Babylonia, as we have seen, Nabopolassar had revolted from Assyria in 625 B.C.: in 616 B.C.²² he invaded Assyria, but retired before the arrival of an Egyptian army under Psammetichus, which marched to the relief of Nineveh. Later in the same year Nabopolassar routed the Assyrian forces on the east of the Tigris, and drove them in flight across the Diyâla to the Lower Zab, but he failed in an attack upon the city of Asshur (615 B.C.). In 614 B.C. Cyaxares, the Mede, marched for the second time against Nineveh; here he was repulsed, but later captured and destroyed Asshur. On the smoking ruins of the city a pact of alliance was concluded between Nabopolassar of Babylon and Cyaxares the Mede, and this alliance was sealed by the marriage of Nabopolassar's son Nebuchadnezzar to the daughter of Cyaxares. In 612 B.C. the Scythians joined this coalition; the final siege of Nineveh lasted some two and a half months, and in August 612 B.C. the tyrant

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city fell and was “turned into a mound and a ruin”—and so it has remained.

But this was not the end of the Assyrian Empire: fugitives from Niniveh escaped to Harran, and there crowned Ashur-Uballit king of an Assyrian state. In 610 B.C. the Medes²³ united with Nabopolassar in an attack upon the city of Harran; Ashur-Uballit fled westwards, and Harran was pillaged. In 609 B.C. Ashur-Uballit with Egyptian reinforcements endeavoured to recover possession of Harran without success; in 608 B.C. (? 609 B.C.)²⁴ after the death of Psammetichus the Pharaoh Necho advanced in person through Philistia to the help of the Assyrians. On that march, at Megiddo, the king of Judah and the Egyptian Pharaoh met face to face.²⁵ What precisely happened at that fatal meeting we do not know. In the Book of Kings we are told only that Necho slew Josiah when he had seen him (2 Kings xxiii. 29)—lynch justice falling upon one who had played the traitor to his Assyrian overlord?—or did Josiah at the head of his army throw himself in Necho's path that the Pharaoh might not bring aid to Ashur-Uballit (2 Chronicles xxxv. 20-24)? We cannot say.²⁶ The king who had been very zealous for Jehovah was carried back to Jerusalem for burial.

Josiah's younger son, Shallum, succeeded his father, adopting at his accession the name of Jehoahaz. He reigned for but three months: Necho returning victorious (?) from his campaign summoned Jehoahaz to appear before him at Ribla on the Orontes. The king of Judah was dethroned and sent a prisoner to Egypt. The hated elder son of Josiah,

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Eliakim, was imposed upon Judah, as an Egyptian vassal, under the name of Jehoiakim (608-597); a heavy tribute was laid upon his kingdom (2 Kings xxiii. 35). In 605 B.C. Necho once more marched to the Euphrates, and his defeat at Carchemish probably sealed the fate of Assyria.* Nebuchadnezzar was already at the gateway of Egypt, when the death of Nabopolassar recalled him to Babylon.

The empire of Assyria was annihilated: the news of the overthrow of Nineveh had come as "good tidings" to Judah, as a promise that Jehovah would afflict his people no more (Nahum i. 12-15): "Woe to the bloody city!" The epitaph upon Assyria lives for ever in the triumph song of Nahum:

"Where is the Lion's den,
And the young lions' feeding ground?
Whither the Lion retreated,
The whelps of the Lion, with none to affray:
The Lion who tore enough for his whelps
And strangled for his lionesses.
And he filled his pits with prey,
And his dens with rapine."

But the young lions are devoured: Nineveh is laid waste: who will bemoan her?

"Asleep are thy shepherds, O king of Assyria,
Thy nobles do slumber;
Thy people are strewn on the mountains
Without any to gather.
There is no healing of thy wreck,
Fatal thy wound!
All who hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hand at thee,
For upon whom hath not thy cruelty passed without
ceasing?" *

* Translation of G. A. Smith: *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, 1898, ch. viii

VIII

BABYLONIA

(I)

NEBUCHADNEZZAR after his chastisement of Necho returned to clasp the hands of Bel and mount the throne of Babylon. In the West the Chaldean was the heir of the Assyrian, and Egypt did not venture to attack the successor of the lords of Nineveh: "and the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken, from the brook of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt" (2 Kings xxiv. 7). Jehoiakim was permitted to rule in Jerusalem as a Babylonian vassal. The history of the reign of Jehoiakim is very obscure, but it would seem ¹ that, when he was released from his vassalage to Egypt (2 Kings xxiii. 35) by the defeat of Necho, the king of Judah seized his opportunity to attack his neighbours: "and he went up and down among the lions, he became a young lion: and he learned to catch the prey, he devoured men. And he knew their palaces, and laid waste their cities; and the land was desolate, and the fulness thereof, because of the noise of his roaring." (Ezekiel xix. 6-7). In his own kingdom Jehoiakim followed in the traces of

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Solomon, and raised a magnificent palace of cedar-wood by the forced labour of his subjects (Jeremiah xxii. 13-15). The reforms of Josiah were discredited by the issue of that fatal meeting at Megiddo: the solemn covenant of king and people to observe the provisions of the book of the law may even have been officially annulled: the worship at the local sanctuaries was restored, the cult of the Queen of Heaven was openly practised, while the prophets of Jehovah were persecuted; Uriah was haled from his Egyptian asylum² to suffer a martyr's death, and Jeremiah was attacked. With his own hands the king cut in pieces and burned the sacred roll of Jeremiah's prophecies (Jeremiah xxxvi. 23). At length the neighbouring peoples banded together against Jehoiakim, took him captive and brought him bound before Nebuchadnezzar³ who was perhaps in Western Asia in 602 suppressing a Syrian revolt.⁴ Nebuchadnezzar may well have regarded Jehoiakim's attacks upon his neighbours as a chastisement of the partisans of Egypt: Jehoiakim was reinstated in Jerusalem, and for three years (602-600?)⁵ he paid his tribute to Babylon; then he revolted from his overlord.

Nebuchadnezzar did not at first intervene in person, but incited others to attack the kingdom of Judah: Jehoiakim was assailed by bands of Chaldeans, Syrians, Moabites and Ammonites. At length (597 B.C.) Nebuchadnezzar himself marched to the West; Jehoiakim died and Jehoiachin, his son, a youth of eighteen years, succeeded his father. Jerusalem was invested, and to save the Holy City from sack and massacre Jehoiachin surrendered

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himself and his family to the king of Babylon : the chief men of the land with 7000 soldiers—the “men of might”—and 1000 craftsmen and smiths were carried into captivity,⁶ and Nebuchadnezzar took with him to the East the treasures of Temple and palace, while Solomon’s vessels of gold, dedicated to the service of Jehovah’s sanctuary, were cut in pieces. Mattaniah, the king’s uncle, was placed upon the throne of Judah under the name of Zedekiah. Nebuchadnezzar took from Zedekiah an oath of allegiance ; the kingdom, deprived of all its leaders, would be no longer dangerous : it might continue to exist as a humble vassal state of the Babylonian Empire (Ezekiel xvii. 13-14). Jeremiah might endeavour to extinguish the ardour of those patriots who desired Jehoiachin’s restoration by prophesying that none of his seed should sit upon the throne of David, or rule any more in Judah (Jeremiah xxii. 30), but the king’s noble sacrifice was not forgotten : it lived in the memory of his people, and his devotion was still celebrated in song when Josephus wrote his *Bellum Judaicum* (vi. 2, 1).

The position of Zedekiah was one of supreme difficulty. He himself, supported by Jeremiah, would have remained a loyal subject of Nebuchadnezzar, but this policy was attacked both amongst the exiles in Babylonia and in his own kingdom : while the prophets in Babylonia foretold the return of the legitimate sovran Jehoiachin, and wrote letters to all the priests in Jerusalem encouraging them to silence Jeremiah and to strengthen the hands of the patriots, in Judah itself there were prophets who were ready to face martyrdom in the

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cause of revolt. Those "princes" who yet remained in Jerusalem shared the enthusiastic belief in the success of insurrection. Ezekiel in Babylon and Jeremiah in Jerusalem expostulated in vain, and declared to deaf ears that the Holy City was doomed. There was bitter feeling between the exiles and those who had taken their place in Judah: "Get you far from the Lord, unto us is this land given for a possession" (Ezekiel xi. 15) was the attitude of the inhabitants of Jerusalem towards their distant brethren; it was those who were now in exile who had brought upon them their present humiliation: the fathers had eaten sour grapes, and it was the children's teeth which were set on edge (Ezekiel xviii. 2). Since Jehovah had failed to protect his city, they were free to do as they would: "the Lord seeth us not; the Lord hath forsaken the land" (Ezekiel viii. 12; ix. 9), and the deduction drawn from Jehovah's desertion was natural: "We will be as the nations, as the families of the countries, to serve wood and stone." Within the Temple precincts men practised in secret Egyptian animal cults (? Ezekiel viii. 10), and openly worshipped Shamash, the Babylonian Sun-god, while the streets of Jerusalem resounded with mourning for the dead Tammuz.⁷ Even child-sacrifice was, it would seem, introduced. The allegiance of the citizens was divided between a fanatical assurance of the coming of the "Day of Jehovah" and the various forms of pagan polytheism. Thus Jeremiah becomes the pessimist among the prophets, while Ezekiel can brand the whole of his people's past as apostasy from Jehovah. Jerusalem has deserved its fate:

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even a Noah, a Daniel, a Job within the city could not avert the doom.

When in 590 Psammetichus of Egypt marched into Asia, the hands of the king of Judah were forced, and the kingdom revolted.⁸ It would seem that Zedekiah represented to the Babylonian court that he was powerless before the incitements alike of priests and prophets. Nebuchadnezzar, realising the position of affairs in Judah, deported to Babylon the insurgent priests and prophets,⁹ while Jeremiah sent to these exiled enthusiasts a letter in which he counselled them to give up all hopes of a speedy return.¹⁰

Once more, when in 589 Hophra or Apries had mounted the Egyptian throne and sought to reassert Egyptian supremacy in Western Asia, the patriotic party in Judah carried the day, and Zedekiah in alliance with Egypt and Tyre threw off the yoke of Babylonian supremacy. When Nebuchadnezzar had marched as far as Ribla, the inhabitants of Judah fled within the walls of the capital (Jeremiah xxxv. 11); Jerusalem was surrounded. But on the advance of the Egyptian army, the Babylonians raised the siege in order to meet Apries. Enthusiasm within Jerusalem knew no bounds: Jeremiah, the prophet of evil, was imprisoned. The Egyptian forces, however, retreated, and the Babylonians again encamped before the city. Within its fortifications there was famine, and to famine was added pestilence. Jeremiah encouraged all who could to desert to the enemy. At last the wall was breached; Zedekiah broke through the lines of the besiegers, but was captured

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and brought before Nebuchadnezzar in Ribla. His sons were butchered before their father's eyes, and afterward Zedekiah himself was blinded, and carried captive to Babylon. When seventy of the most prominent men in Judah had been put to death by order of Nebuchadnezzar, the Temple and all the public buildings in Jerusalem were burnt and the city walls levelled. Babylonia would make an end. A long train of captives accompanied their king. Over the remnant of the people Gedaliah¹¹ was appointed governor, and, at Mizpah, with Gedaliah Jeremiah chose to remain. There seemed a hope for some modest restoration to be built upon the ruins of the realm of David. But even that hope was extinguished by an assassin's hand. Baalis of Ammon hired Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah, to murder Gedaliah, and after the murder, in fear of Babylonian vengeance, the greater part of the remnant of Judah set out for Egypt, carrying with them the reluctant Jeremiah. They left behind them anarchy and defiance: "Abraham was one," men argued, "and yet he inherited the land; but we are many, to us the land is given as a possession" (cf. Ezekiel xxxiii.). It was a vain boast: five years after the destruction of Jerusalem a new band of captives went to Babylon to swell the number of the Jewish exiles, while Ammon and Moab and Edom and Philistia seized their hour (cf. Ezekiel xxv.), and ravaged the defenceless land. Jehovah's Temple was profaned, and in Egypt—in the land of Israel's bondage—the women of Judah fulfilled their vows to burn sacrifice to the Queen of Heaven and pour out to her libations, while

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Jeremiah announced the decree of Jehovah that his religion should be extinguished among the Jews of Egypt :

By my great name I swear,
Saith Jehovah,
That my name shall no more be heard
In the mouth of any man of Judah
In all the land of Egypt.
Then shall all the remnant of Judah know
Whose word it is that stands ! *

That decree of Jehovah was not fulfilled, but it was a strange worship that was rendered to the jealous God of Israel by the Jewish colonists of Elephantine in Upper Egypt. The temple of Solomon was levelled with the ground, but in the Jewish temple of Elephantine Jehovah would seem to have shared the allegiance of his people with two other Canaanite (?) deities. In the Elephantine papyri the worshippers bring their offerings, not only to Yahu (Jehovah), but also to Ishumbethel and Anathbethel.¹³

Jerusalem had fallen ! The place which Jehovah had chosen to cause his name to dwell there had been desecrated. That devastating blow—that extinction of a nation's hope—is the great watershed in Israel's history. While Jerusalem yet stood, Ezekiel had seen Jehovah's glory withdraw from the doomed city : Jehovah at the first had made himself known to his people upon a holy mountain : to a holy mountain—pictured by Ezekiel, it may well be, with reminiscences of the Mountain of the Gods of Babylonian mythology—Jehovah had now re-

* Skinner's translation of Jeremiah, xliv. 26b, 28b, in *Prophecy and Religion*, p. 345.

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tired : once more Israel must be brought to the wilderness to relearn the ways of their God.¹³ But, with the fall of Jerusalem, the change in the fortunes of Jehovah's people is reflected in the changed message of Jehovah's prophet : promise can take the place of threatening. For a repentant people there is yet a future : to the land which had become Jehovah's inheritance Jehovah, to establish his own name in the face of the nations, would restore his chosen. There can begin in preparation for that day of return a new study of Jehovah's law, and Ezekiel can elaborate in minute detail the organisation of the future kingdom. Canaan had been purified of its defilements : in it once more a holy nation could render service to the God of Holiness, and scholars have seen in the Law of Holiness (Leviticus xvii.-xxvi.) a product of this period. In the majestic imagery of Ezekiel we may perhaps discern the influence of the forms of Babylonian religious tradition (*e.g.*, in the theophany of chapters i.-iii. with which cf. chapter x.), while the ritual and endowments of Babylonian temples may have, to some extent, inspired the prophet's anticipation of the observances of the restored worship of Jehovah in that state of the future where under a Davidic king the priesthood will from its own estates be guaranteed a complete independence. The bitterness between Jew and Samaritan has not yet arisen to break the harmony of the new Israel : North and South, Ephraim and Judah alike, will take their due place in the kingdom.¹⁴ And, as ever with the Jew, history was studied as combining a warning and a promise, and the national records were re-edited to point the

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moral that, when suffering had had its perfect work, it should issue in healing and reconciliation. Ezekiel's conception of Jehovah and his hope for Jehovah's people are, it is true, equally limited; God "is for him a self-centred egoist who bends the whole course of history to his own glory,"¹⁵ while the prophet's outlook for Israel is that of an exclusive nationalism: Israel triumphs in an orgy of massacre, and the birds of prey shall be sated with the flesh and the blood of Israel's foes. But the writer of the "Servant Songs" in the Book of Isaiah was a poet of a wider vision than that of Ezekiel; as he studied his people's past, the sufferings of his nation became charged with a profounder significance. In the martyrdom of those who had been persecuted for the faith of Jehovah, the sins of their fellows had been borne, through the compulsion of their unresisting sacrifice, through the wondering allegiance of disciples inspired by that sacrifice—the devotion of a Baruch for a Jeremiah—the *people had been saved*: exile had not destroyed it, as it had destroyed other nations—the furnace of affliction had but purged it of its dross. And thus for this remnant had been made possible the fulfilment of Jehovah's promise of restoration. That restoration was the fruit of the martyr's sufferings, and his spirit had risen again from the dead in the followers whom his faith had saved. And from the martyr the poet's thought turned to the martyr nation and to God's purpose for the nation: it, too, had from the beginning been formed in Jehovah's thought as his servant: it was his chosen people. The nation had come short of that ideal, but through the

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sufferings of those who had refused to take the easy path and lose themselves in Babylon, who had there known scorn and obloquy, and had been numbered with the transgressors, the ideal might yet be recaptured. The true Israel had poured out their souls unto death, but their spirit should rise with the nation which they had redeemed: they should carry the whole people back from exile—back to the fulfilment of the purpose of Israel's election. That purpose could not be limited even to the conversion of the whole of Israel: "it is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that my salvation may be unto the end of the earth."

Many a kingdom had been broken by the empires of the East and had journeyed into bondage in an alien land: it was left to a Jew to create out of that experience "an entirely new religious ideal—an ideal which was to remain unrealised till it found its response and fulfilment in the soul of Jesus of Nazareth." ¹⁶

(II)

We must turn to the history of the Near Eastern world beyond the bounds of Babylonia. We have seen that Cyaxares the Mede in alliance with Babylon had conquered Nineveh. After that victory the Scythians held Cappadocia and probably such neighbouring states as Commagene and Melitene; the Medes, it would seem, occupied the

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northern provinces of the Assyrian Empire. What was the precise extent of the Median Empire at this time we do not know, but Hogarth has suggested¹⁷ that Cyaxares even claimed suzerainty over Babylon in the south—Nebuchadnezzar was perhaps not a wholly independent ruler—while his authority, centred in the west of modern Persia, was acknowledged throughout Armenia, for the Vannic kingdom had now ceased to exist. “Since the heart of this ‘Empire’ lay in the north, its main activities took place there too, and probably the discretion of the Babylonian king was seldom interfered with by his Median suzerain.”¹⁷ About the year 592 (?) Cyaxares would appear to have overthrown the Scythian power in Cappadocia, and as a result of this success advanced against the Lydian kingdom in the West. After an inconclusive struggle of some five years’ duration the Medes and Lydians resorted to arbitration (585 B.C.?). One of the two arbitrators (representing Media?) was apparently Nabonidus of Babylon.¹⁸ In the same year Cyaxares died, and his successor Astyages married the daughter of Alyattes, king of Lydia. Nebuchadnezzar ultimately (573 B.C.) compelled Tyre to acknowledge Babylonian supremacy after a siege which is said to have lasted thirteen years. From Ezekiel xxvi. 7-11 we may perhaps infer that it was the mainland Tyre and not the island city which was besieged by the Babylonian forces.¹⁹ It would appear probable that about 570 B.C.²⁰ Nebuchadnezzar began operations against Egypt: of those campaigns we have no record save for “a fragmentary reference to a conflict with Amasis of Egypt in the year 568

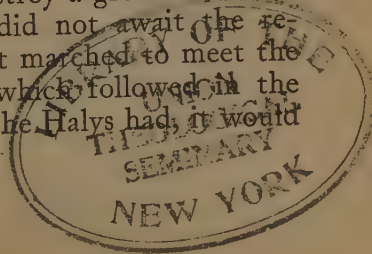
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B.C.”²¹ In 561 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar died ; his son Amel-Marduk²² was assassinated in the third year of his reign, and was succeeded by Neriglissar, a son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar, who is probably to be identified with Nergal-sharezer, the Babylonian general (Rab-mag),²³ who took part in the siege of Jerusalem.²⁴ Neriglissar ruled only for four years : his son was a child who nine months after his accession was deposed in favour of Nabonidus (555 B.C.), who was perhaps the son of Nebuchadnezzar’s favourite wife.²⁵ Immediately after his accession Nabonidus, advised by a dream-oracle, formed an alliance with his vassal, the Persian Cyrus, who was at this time ruling in Anshan in Elam—the Persians having apparently been driven southward by the Medes from their northern home on the plateau of Iran. Since the death of Nebuchadnezzar Astyages the Mede had subdued Syria : it was now agreed that Nabonidus should attack the Medes in Syria, while Cyrus undertook to revolt from Astyages “what time the third year comes round.” During the year 554 B.C. Nabonidus collected his troops for the attack on the Medes, even going as widely afield for reinforcements as Gaza in Philistia. In 553 Bel-shar-usur (Belshazzar), the son of Nabonidus (and thus perhaps the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar), was established as viceroy in Babylon, while Nabonidus invaded Syria with complete success, advancing as far as Hamath. At the same time Cyrus would seem to have intrigued with nobles of the Median court, and thus crippled the resistance of the Median kingdom. In the following year Nabonidus was in Western Asia,

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marching by way of the Lebanon district against Edom ; thence he made his way to Tema (Teman) in Arabia, where he would appear to have stayed at least until 544 B.C., perhaps until 539 B.C. probably developing (as Mr Sidney Smith has suggested) the trade connections of Babylonia at this meeting-place of many caravan routes. If this be the correct interpretation of the recently published cuneiform document, Belshazzar must have represented his father for many years as king in Babylon : this would serve to explain the fact that for the writer of the Book of Daniel Belshazzar is the last sovran of the Babylonian Empire.²⁶ In 549 Cyrus invaded Media and with the help of Harpagus, the general of the Median king, dethroned Astyages and sacked Ecbatana. Thus did empire pass from the Mede to the Persian.

This success brought to an end the alliance between Nabonidus and Cyrus : they were no longer united by the common fear of the Median power. This is shown by the fact that, when Cyrus had annexed Syria and thence marched against Cræsus of Lydia, it is to Nabonidus that the king of Lydia appealed for aid. But the alliances of Cræsus—with Sparta, the strongest military power of European Greece, with Egypt and with Babylon—availed him nothing. The king of Lydia, confident that the oracle given by Delphi—"if he should cross the Halys, he would destroy a great realm"—had promised him success, did not await the reinforcements of his allies, but marched to meet the Persian army. The battle which followed in the neighbourhood of Pteria on the Halys had, it would



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seem, no decisive result, but when Cræsus withdrew upon his capital, Sardis, Cyrus pursued him hard. The Lydian cavalry stampeded at the smell of the camels of Cyrus, Sardis fell, Cræsus was put to death, and the Lydian kingdom was overthrown (546 B.C.). Cyrus, leaving the pacification of the West to his generals, entered on those eastern campaigns which carried his empire to the Jaxartes and the Indus. Finally an attack upon Arabia drove Nabonidus back to Babylon, and in 539 B.C. the Persian siege of Babylon began. At the beginning of his reign Nabonidus had aroused much discontent by his tyranny, by the introduction into the state service of foreigners—probably drawn from his native country of Harran—and by his religious innovations. That unpopularity was only increased when, before the menace of the Persian advance, he transported the city gods of Babylonia within the shelter of the walls of his capital. Gobryas,²⁷ a former leader of the Babylonian army under Nebuchadnezzar, and later governor of the important province of Gutium, had some years before (?548 B.C.)²⁸ deserted Nabonidus and gone over to Cyrus. Now while Cyrus captured Opis, and, unopposed, occupied Sippar, Gobryas hastened to Babylon and by a ruse entered the city without a battle. Nabonidus had fled to Borsippa, but, returning, was captured and put to death. Cyrus entered Babylon as conqueror (538 B.C.). At the New Year's feast of 537 Cambyses was created king of Babylonia to bear joint rule with his father.

IX

PERSIA

(1)

IT would seem that during the later years of the Captivity the sufferings of the Jewish exiles became more severe: imprisonment was added to the military service and the forced labour to which the ancient empires subjected the deported populations of conquered kingdoms. The Babylonian government may well have feared that those who had refused to identify themselves with the worship and the life of their new home might in the hour of crisis join the invader. Indeed as the exiles watched the fall of the powers of the North and West and East before the Persian conqueror who had once been but the "little servant"—the humble vassal—of Astyages the Mede, there arose from their midst the voice of a great prophet who discerned in the coming of Cyrus not a menace, but the promise of salvation, who saw in the Persian the Anointed of Jehovah: ¹ the years of affliction were overpast, the hour of Jehovah's comfort was at hand:

"Comfort ye, comfort ye my people."

"Thus saith the Lord, thy redeemer, and he that formed thee from the womb: I am the Lord that

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maketh all things . . . that confirmeth the word of his servant and performeth the counsel of his messengers ; that saith of Jerusalem ‘ She shall be inhabited ’ and of the cities of Judah ‘ They shall be built ’ . . . that saith of Cyrus ‘ He is my shepherd and shall perform all my pleasure ’ : even saying of Jerusalem, ‘ she shall be built,’ and to the Temple ‘ Thy foundation shall be laid.’ ”

“ Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him, and I will loose the loins of kings ; to open the doors before him, and the gates shall not be shut ; I will go before thee, and make the rugged places plain : I will break in pieces the doors of brass and cut in sunder the bars of iron : and I will give thee the treasures of darkness and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I am the Lord, which call thee by thy name, even the God of Israel. For Jacob my servant’s sake, and Israel my chosen, I have called thee by thy name : I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me. I am the Lord, and there is none else ; beside me there is no God : I will gird thee, though thou hast not known me : that they may know from the rising of the sun and from the west that there is none beside me.

“ The Lord hath loved him (Cyrus) : he shall perform his pleasure on Babylon, and his arm shall be on the Chaldeans. I, even I, have spoken ; yea, I have called him : I have brought him, and he shall make his way prosperous.” *

There was a strong party within Babylonia which

* Cf. Isaiah xli. 2, 25 ; xlv. 28-xlv. 13 ; xlv. 11 ; xlviii. 14-15.

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had welcomed Cyrus : his army in all probability, as we have seen, had been led by a Babylonian general who had gone over to the Persians. The city of Sippar joined Cyrus on his advance, Babylon had opened its gates without a battle. Cyrus came, as he says in his cylinder inscription, as the emissary of Marduk, the god of Babylon : "to his city of Babylon Marduk summoned his march, and he bade him take the road to Babylon ; like a friend and a comrade he went at his side." "The men of Babylon, all of them, and the whole of Sumer and Accad, the nobles and priests who had revolted, kissed his feet, they rejoiced in his sovereignty, their faces shone." "The god who in his ministry raises the dead to life, who benefits all men in difficulty and prayer, has in goodness drawn nigh to him, has made strong his name." And the first measure of the conqueror whose heart Marduk had strengthened was to restore the god's own temple, and also to send back to their shrines the gods whom Nabonidus had removed to the capital. "The gods of Sumer and Accad whom Nabonidus to the anger of the lord of gods had brought into Babylonia I settled in peace in their sanctuaries by the command of Marduk, the great lord." Further Cyrus states : "All these peoples I assembled and I restored their lands." ^a

Did Cyrus, also "perform the pleasure of Jehovah" ? Did he say of Jerusalem "She shall be built," and to the Temple "Thy foundation shall be laid" ? Many modern scholars have answered that question in the negative. We must first consider the further evidence for the attitude of the Persians towards the religions of their subjects.

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We know that down to the time of Xerxes the kings of Persia came regularly to Babylon "to take the hands of Bel"; in the same way in Egypt the Persian king conformed to the custom of the country and became an Egyptian Pharaoh, and we still possess the inscription in which Uzahor-resenet, "Admiral of the Fleet and Lay Warden of the Temple of Neith in Sais," tells how he was ordered to compose the king's religious or Horus name, while he also obtained the royal authority to remove the foreigners who had settled in the temple precinct of Neith, and to reclaim for the goddess the temple revenues of which she had been deprived.³

Later, it is true, after the disasters suffered in Egypt Cambyzes vented his fury against the Egyptian temples: "When Cambyzes came into Egypt, the temples of the gods of Egypt, all of them, they overthrew."⁴ Uzahor-resenet, writing under Darius, refers to the terrible calamity which came to pass in Egypt, when the divine offerings were discontinued, the temples were desecrated, and the school of sacred scribes was ruined. But even in this orgy of destruction the Jewish temple at Assuan was unharmed.⁵ Subsequently Uzahor-resenet, then royal physician, was sent by Darius to Egypt to restore the college of temple scribes.⁶ In his fifth year Darius II despatched a letter to the satrap of Egypt ordering the Jewish colony at Assuan to celebrate the Passover;⁶ in 408 B.C. the Jews at Assuan write to the Persian governor of Judea asking for authority to rebuild their temple and receive a verbal licence for the rebuilding, which they

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are given permission to use in dealing with the satrap of Egypt.⁷

Similar relations towards Greek sanctuaries are implied by the Gadatas inscription from Magnesia on the Meander. Gadatas, it appears from this inscription, was a Persian official, perhaps the superintendent of the imperial domains in the district of Magnesia. He has been importing plants from Syria and has compelled the gardeners of a neighbouring temple of Apollo to render forced labour and to make money payments. A complaint has been lodged at the Persian court, and the king now threatens Gadatas with severe penalties, if he does not mend his ways. Darius says that through his misconduct Gadatas has set at nought the king's care for the gods: he has not understood the sentiments of the king's forefathers towards the god who had spoken to the Persians the truth . . . (the rest of the inscription is lost).⁸ Eduard Meyer has suggested that Apollo must have given to Cyrus an oracle—at the time of the Lydian War—which was in fact fulfilled, and in recompense for this Cyrus must have conferred on the sanctuary freedom from taxation and from the *corvée*. That privilege the king now confirms.

Such is the evidence derived from non-Biblical sources for Persian policy in religious matters. Much of it has been questioned, but on *a priori* grounds, and without sufficient reason. Its cumulative effect is very strong. To the present writer it would appear impossible to question the general historicity of the Biblical records. A full discussion of the problem would lie beyond the scope of the

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present essay : a summary statement is alone possible.⁹

In the first year of his reign as king in Babylon, when, as we have seen, Cyrus was restoring to their homes the gods of his Babylonian subjects, the exiled Jews secured from the conqueror an edict permitting them to return to Palestine and giving them authority to rebuild the temple of Jehovah. Sheshbazzar,¹⁰ perhaps himself a descendant of the royal house of Judah, was charged with the conduct of the train of returning exiles, and to him were restored the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the former Temple. Authority was given for the transport of timber from Lebanon for the reconstruction of the house of Jehovah. But during the exile the neighbours of Judah had pressed into the dispeopled land : Philistines from the West, Ammonites and Moabites from the East, and Edomites from the South ; "Judah was perhaps hardly more than a geographical expression denoting a land in which the Jews were now only a struggling minority."¹¹ Those who accompanied Sheshbazzar were faced with the immediate problems of resettlement amidst these intruders. The position must have been full of practical difficulties. The rebuilding of the Temple was postponed : the high hopes of the second Isaiah were not realised, though Cyrus himself had played the part which the prophet had foretold for the Anointed of Jehovah.

The reign of Cambyzes drew to its close, when the revolt of a pretender to the Persian throne threatened the whole empire with dissolution.

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This uprising may well have been a Median reaction against the supremacy of the Persian: ¹² at its head was the Magian Gaumata, posing as the younger son of Cyrus. Cambyses, it would seem, committed suicide and Darius did not so much "succeed" to the kingdom, rather he was faced with the task of reconquering the realm of Cyrus.¹³ Zerubbabel, apparently a prince of the house of David, arrived in Judah as the newly appointed Persian governor of the province; popular excitement was intense: folk streamed in from the countryside to Jerusalem.¹⁴ The neglected task of restoring the sanctuary of Jehovah was taken up afresh, the altar was restored, and preparations made for the rebuilding of the Temple. Timber was brought from Lebanon by virtue of the edict of Cyrus. With the encouragement of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, the foundation was laid in the second month of the second year of the reign of Darius.

But when the Samaritans offered to share in this restoration of the Temple, their overtures were repulsed; on this rebuff they turned to the Persian governor in Samaria, and suggested that he should intervene. To the governor's envoys the Jews pleaded the edict of Cyrus: to establish the continuity of their present action with that of Sheshbazzar and to link that action to the grant of authorisation issued by Cyrus they resorted to a diplomatic rewriting of their recent history. Sheshbazzar, they said, had laid the foundation-stone of the Temple, and *since his time* the Temple had been in building, and was not even yet completed. Darius gave orders for search to be made in the

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Persian archives for the decree of Cyrus : a record of it was found in the king's summer residence of Ecbatana : the work of Temple building was permitted to proceed. Thus, with a governor of the royal house in their midst, with Jehozadak, the high-priest, as their leader, with the Temple rising from its ruins and the worship of Jehovah restored, at a time when the peoples of Western Asia were asserting on every side their independence from Persian rule, it is small wonder that the national hopes of the people revived, and that even the prophets Haggai and Zechariah saw before them the breaking of a new day when Zerubbabel should represent once more the Davidic kingship in Jerusalem. Haggai's message was "Speak to Zerubbabel governor of Judah, saying, I am shaking the heavens and the earth; and I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the nations, and I will overthrow the chariots and those that ride in them; and the horses and the riders shall come down, every one by the sword of his brother. In that day, saith the Lord of Hosts, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel, my servant, . . . and will make thee as a signet, for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord of Hosts." (Haggai ii. 20-23). To Zechariah Zerubbabel is the "Shoot" who is to renew the kingship and build the Temple: "And he shall bear the glory and shall sit and rule upon his throne, and there shall be a priest beside his throne, and the counsel of peace shall be between them both" (Zechariah vi. 12-13).¹⁵ It is clear that there was a Zealot party who would have won the national deliverance at the sword's point. But for Zechariah

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this was overweening arrogance—it was to force the hand of Jehovah. God would bring it about in his own good time: it was to be achieved “not by an army, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.” (Zechariah iv. 6).

The Temple was completed in the sixth year of Darius, but there was no apocalyptic intervention of Jehovah, as Haggai had dreamt. The world was not shaken, and of the end of Zerubbabel we know nothing: he vanishes. Darius reasserted his authority over the revolting West, and Palestine remained, as before, a province of the Persian empire. “The priest . . . bare rule over a kingless . . . people.”¹⁶

Even in Zechariah’s time a proposal had apparently been made to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, but such a fortification of the city would doubtless have aroused the opposition of the Persian governor, and to Zechariah it was not in any material protection that the strength of Jehovah’s people lay: “For I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and I will be the glory in the midst of her.” (Zechariah ii. 5). But the hope for the restoration of the defences of the Holy City persisted:¹⁷ it may well be that an attempt was made to rebuild the walls in the reign of Artaxerxes, who came to the throne in 464 B.C. (Ezra iv. 7-23): that attempt was frustrated “by force and power.” The Samaritans and their associates caused the Persian officials to appeal to Artaxerxes; the king sent a reply ordering the work to cease “until a decree is issued by me.” On this the Samaritans took the matter into their own hands, destroyed the walls,

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and overturned their foundations. If Jerusalem should become a fortified city, it could defy the North with impunity. It was very possibly the news of that failure which troubled the heart of Nehemiah in 445 B.C.: "the wall of Jerusalem is breached, and its gates have been burned" (Nehemiah i. 3): "the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres lieth waste, and its gates have been consumed by fire." * The dejection of the Jews at this time is perhaps reflected in the prophecy of Malachi. Once more, it is through the intervention of a king of Persia that the Jews in Palestine are given a leader. In the twentieth year of his reign Artaxerxes granted the request of his cup-bearer, and Nehemiah was sent to the West as governor of Judah, with express authority to rebuild the city of his fathers.

Opposition on the part of any Persian governor could now be challenged, and Sanballat, governor in Samaria, was bidden to retire: he and his companions "had no property, nor authority, nor proof of citizenship in Jerusalem" (Nehemiah ii. 20). There is no need to repeat in this place the well-known story of Nehemiah's activity during the years of his governorship: how he frustrated the surprise attack which had been planned by the Samaritans, how he resisted the treacherous plots of Sanballat and his confederates, how in fifty-two days the wall of the city was completed. "The result was much more than the mere restoration of the city. He secured for Judah and Jerusalem independence from Samaria, and gained for Judah a new reputation in the eyes of the other nations. . . . From this time

* Nehemiah ii. 3; cf. ii. 13 and 17.

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onward the power of Samaria began to wane and that of Judah to increase.”¹⁸ Thus, protected from hostile intervention, Nehemiah could turn to his social reforms (Nehemiah v.); he shamed the Jewish nobles into restoration of property acquired by oppression from their brethren and into renunciation of the interest on money lent. Having fortified the city, he now sought to repeople it (chap. xi.), and then, after twelve years (445-433 B.C.), he returned to Persia. Later he came once more to Jerusalem and, as governor for a second term of office, he carried through his religious reforms—the exclusion of the foreigner from participation in the Temple service, the regulation of the tithes and the provision for impoverished Levites, the suppression of mixed marriages. It must never be forgotten that it was the Persian king who conferred upon Nehemiah the authority which made it possible for him to effect this restoration of the city, this reconstitution of Jewish society.

In what reign Ezra came from Babylon to Jerusalem is uncertain: the Chronicler conceived of Ezra and Nehemiah as contemporaries—both lived in the reign of Artaxerxes I (464-424 B.C.) and worked together in Jerusalem at one and the same time. But many modern scholars incline to place Ezra's activity in the reign of Artaxerxes II (404-358 B.C.), and, though there is as yet no agreement on this chronological question, the evidence of the Elephantine papyri would certainly appear to favour the latter view: Ezra comes to Jerusalem in 398 B.C. and not in 458 B.C.¹⁹ But for our present purpose the precise date of Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem is of minor

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importance; for us the significant fact is that Ezra could promulgate the Jewish law and enforce its observance in Palestine, because he had been authorised thereto by the Persian king. The binding character of Jehovah's law for the population of Judah rested upon the *firman* of Artaxerxes. "And thou, Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God that is in thine hand appoint magistrates and judges which may judge all the people that are beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God: and teach ye him that knoweth them not. And whosoever will not do *the law of thy God and the law of the king*, let judgment be executed upon him with all diligence, whether it be unto death or to banishment or to confiscation of goods or to imprisonment."²⁰ This decree has been regarded with considerable scepticism by modern scholars, but it may be doubted how far such scepticism can be justified. "If Darius could be induced, for whatever reasons, to issue a special edict concerning a single religious observance in an obscure colony of Jews,* we need not question the authenticity of the letter of Artaxerxes in Ezra vii. 12 *sqq.*, dealing with the much more important matter of Ezra's mission. In neither case need we suppose that the details are due to the king himself. In the papyrus they certainly are not, and in Ezra vii. 12 *sqq.*, we can imagine the king, when once his consent had been obtained, saying 'Very well, then, give the man an order for what he wants.' The order would then be drawn up by the Minister for

*=Elephantine papyrus—on the celebration of the Passover—No. 21, dated 419 B.C.; cf. Cowley: *Jewish Documents of the time of Ezra*, pp. 53-54

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Foreign Affairs, probably advised by Ezra himself, and sealed by the king's seal-bearer. Granted the initial good-will of the king, there is nothing improbable about the rest.²¹ The Law—that law which meant everything to later Judaism—was at first enforced by the authority of a Persian king.

Glance back on the story which we have just retraced together, and think of the debt which the Jews of the post-exilic period owed to Persia. The first return of exiles : the Temple vessels carried back by Sheshbazzar to Jerusalem : the edict under the sanction of which the Temple was actually rebuilt—this was the work of Cyrus. The sending of Zerubbabel as governor ; the frustration of the opposition to the rebuilding of the Temple and the reinforcement of the decree of Cyrus—this was the work of Darius. The sending of Nehemiah as governor of Judah with authority to rebuild the Holy City : the fortification of Jerusalem : the reorganisation of Jewish social life—this was the work of Artaxerxes. The enforcement of Jehovah's law as the law of the land—once more the work of a king of Persia. "Judaism," Eduard Meyer has said, "is the creation of the Persian Empire"—we can at least agree that there is not a little truth in that statement.

(II)

BUT there is a further question which naturally arises: What influence had the religion of Persia upon the development of Jewish thought after the Exile ?

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It is a question beset with difficulties and to it very different answers have been given.

It was perhaps a thousand years before our era—perhaps even somewhat earlier¹—that Zarathustra,²—or Zoroaster, as Greeks and Romans called him—the founder of the Mazdean religion, declared his message. There is no reason to doubt that Zarathustra was a real man and no creation of myth, but we cannot tell where he was born,³ we do not know to what social class he belonged, though the names of members of his family all imply the life of a pastoral community.⁴ It has been suggested that he was born in Western Iran,⁵ taught there for a time without success, and then turned eastwards to Bactria, where the prince Vishtaspa was converted, and lent military support to the new creed.⁶ This early failure may, in large measure, have determined the form of much of Zarathustra's teaching: the problem of the suffering of the righteous man constrained the sufferer to look beyond the present world for compensation.

Convinced by a splendid intuition that God is at once just and almighty, Zarathustra was forced to a belief in a future life, and this future life must be no mere undifferentiated abode of shades, but a moral world of punishment and reward: "the whole scheme of Zarathustra's religion was rooted and grounded in eschatology."⁷ At the heart of his religion is this problem of evil—the struggle between Ahura Mazdah, "the wise Lord," the God of Truth and Light,⁸ and the Power of Evil, which is represented for Zarathustra by Falsehood: "the Lie."⁹ Against this Power of Evil man can summon

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to his aid the divine spirits, the "Immortal Holy Ones," spirits who, as Moulton has suggested, were thought of by Zarathustra, not so much as independent archangels, but rather as attributes of God himself; thus *e.g.*, Good Thought (Vohumanah) is God's Thought within man. It is for man to choose his side in the great contest: "When thou, Mazdah, in the beginning didst create beings and men's Selves by thy Thought and intelligences—when thou didst make life clothed with body, when (thou madest) actions and teachings, *whereby one may exercise choice at one's free will. . . .*" "Piety (one of the 'Immortal Holy Ones') pleads with the spirit in which there is wavering." As Moulton summarises the position: God deigns to plead but will never coerce. "Choice is the supreme fact and nothing can relieve intelligent beings of their responsibility."¹⁰ Indeed the existence of evil in the world was due to an act of will: some of the early gods (who for Zarathustra had become "demons"), when faced with this choice, had decided for "the Lie," and had seduced the primal man to his undoing.¹¹ Yet, though "the Lie" may triumph for a time, ultimately evil will be swept away by a flood of molten metal through which the righteous will pass unharmed "as through warm milk." But apart from this general judgment, there is the judgment at death on each individual life, when before the tribunal of Ahura Mazdah Zarathustra will stand as Advocate and Guide for his followers: here the sum of the good or evil acts committed in life shall be balanced one against the other and the destiny of the soul determined.¹² "In eternity shall

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the soul of the righteous be happy, in perpetuity the torments of the men of the Lie.”¹³ Zarathustra’s thought has been termed “dualistic”:¹⁴ it is urged that Ahriman,¹⁵ the Spirit of Falsehood, is no mere passive negation of the Good, but an active principle of Evil, himself possessing, like Ahura Mazdah, the power of creation.¹⁶ So far as concerns this world, it is doubtless true that the thought of Zarathustra is dualistic, that man is engaged in an unceasing struggle against principalities, against the rulers of the darkness, against spiritual wickedness in high places: man’s duty is thus to fight the good fight;¹⁷ but this opposition between good and evil has its fore-ordained limit: it must end in the triumph of good, in the resurrection of the righteous to an untroubled life of blessedness. The religion of Zarathustra, unlike the faith of India, is at its heart optimistic and profoundly practical. Zarathustra and his helpers are the Saviours or Deliverers who, having defended the peaceful herdsmen and agriculturists in this world from the forays of the marauding nomad,¹⁸ shall see that Consummation which shall justify the righteous. Theirs shall be eternal youth and food of springtide butter in a world fashioned anew, where right shall be supreme for ever more.¹⁹

Such in barest outline as reconstructed from the Gathas, the earliest hymns of the faith, is the creed of Zarathustra.

But before the problem of its influence upon post-exilic Judaism can be considered, it is essential to ask how far that creed had been transmitted in its

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purity to the worshippers of Ahura Mazdah within the empire of Cyrus and his successors. For our present purpose we need not stay to discuss the character of the religion of the great Persian kings,²⁰ the question is rather what was the religion as professed and practised by the Magian priests, whether under the Achæmenids or under the Greek sovereigns of Asia, the Seleucid successors of Alexander the Great (see next section). The history of the Mazdean faith during these centuries has been represented by Moulton as the story of the successive stages by which it lapsed ever further from the monotheism and the simplicity of its founder. First, the divinities of the old Aryan nature worship return, only formally subordinated to Ahura Mazdah;²¹ then when the aboriginal (*i.e.* Non-Aryan)²² Median tribe of the Magi, who were already recognised as a priestly caste²³ (cf. the priestly tribe of Levi), made the Mazdean religion their own preserve they claimed the prophet and teacher Zarathustra²⁴ as one of themselves—a Magian priest. It was thus the Magi who overlaid the faith of Zarathustra with an alien ritual,²⁵ imported into it Babylonian elements²⁶ (*e.g.* the practice of astrology²⁷) and systematised²⁸ it into a lifeless formalism. The religion of Magianism was, indeed, practically the unreformed Iranian polytheism with Zarathustra's name retained to atone for the absence of his spirit. "Until the Sassanian revival" in the third century of our era "the West only knew as much of real Zoroastrianism as the Magi chose to transmit."²⁹ The service of the Magi lay in preserving the early scriptures of the faith; thereby they rendered possible the religious

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revolution of the Sassanids. The religion of Persia, as described by Greek observers, was in fact Magianism. Later Artaxerxes II (404-358) still further prejudiced the monotheism³⁰ of Zarathustra: by the side of Ahura Mazdah stood the god Mithras—an ethical god of good faith, it is true, but ever more closely identified with the Babylonian Sun-god Shamash³¹—and the goddess Anahita—herself probably a foreign importation, and perhaps connected with the Semitic Anat.³² Under Artaxerxes II these deities Ahura Mazdah, Mithras and Anahita form a triad, so easy was it to adopt alien divinities into the faith by the simple device of making them servants of Ahura Mazdah.³³

Further if we ask *where* the Jews came into contact with the Mazdean religion, the answer must be, it would seem, *in Babylon*, where the Iranian faith was now predominant, and where the Judaism of the “Dispersion” had its chief centre.³⁴ From this fact, writes Bousset, “we shall have to conclude that the Jews learnt to know this religion not in its purity, but when strongly tainted with Babylonian elements.” The faith of Zarathustra had already entered into a period of syncretism: in the last four centuries before Christ it had already “lost the very features which bring the Gathas nearest to the spirit of Israel’s prophets.”³⁵ “Magian dualism and ritualism were firmly established . . . A host of angels and an antithetic host of demons occupied a prominent place in the creed. Religious duties included the slaying of (theoretically) noxious animals, the performance of tedious ceremonial . . . and the pronouncing of sacred formulæ as the most powerful of spells. . . .

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The idea of immortality must have declined very much from its strongly ethical character. So far as the Magi took it up at all, it was only as a part of their mechanically balanced reconstruction: death must disappear in the new world just as mountains and shadows and dialects and other unsymmetrical things." Zarathustra himself had become "a great figure of mythical attributes, a master of magic and esoteric lore."³⁶ If the Parsism the Jews knew was after this model, Moulton concludes, there was not much by which they could enrich their own religious treasury.³⁷

That there are developments in later Jewish thought which can be paralleled in the religious conceptions of Zoroastrianism no one would deny; the doubt is: how far were those developments the result of an acquaintance with the religion of Zarathustra? For it must not be forgotten that many of these developments first appear in their characteristic forms only comparatively late in the Greek period, and in some cases, at least, their appearance may, it would seem, be adequately explained from the history of Judaism itself. Our evidence is in fact in most cases insufficient to *demonstrate* any direct dependence, and it is for this reason that modern scholars have very variously estimated the extent of Zoroastrian influence upon Jewish thought.

To take one or two examples by way of illustration: Zoroastrianism was from the first a missionary faith; it was not the religion of a single tribe or nation, it was, at least potentially, universalistic in its scope.³⁸ In later Jewish thought, alongside of the narrow

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nationalism of the devotees of the Law, there is also a tendency towards Universalism and missionary activity, as *e.g.* in the Book of Jonah. Some have seen in this universalism the influence of the Persian religion, but the prophets of the pre-exilic period had been steadily widening the Hebrew conception of Jehovah, and in the prophetic message of the second Isaiah universalism is already attained. It may well be doubted whether the later tendency is not a natural development from a prophetic standpoint reached before any close contact of the Jews with Zoroastrian teaching.

The salvation which the early prophets had proclaimed had been a social salvation: the unit of their thought was the nation. But in the period of Seleucid oppression (see next section) the thought of an individual salvation and the thought of individual survival into an after-life are born,³⁹ and scholars marking this distinction in the religious conceptions of the two periods have traced in it the influence of Zoroastrian individualism. But here again it is difficult to determine whether Hebrew prophetic thought may not have been the factor which inspired that development. Already Jeremiah had realised that even the problem of social salvation is in the last analysis the problem of the conversion of the individual: "the higher prophecy of the Old Testament represents a transitional phase in the development of religion from a nationalistic basis on which history is the chief medium of divine revelation to an individual . . . basis on which God enters into immediate fellowship with the human soul."⁴⁰ From Jeremiah, through the individualism of Ezekiel,

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the later Psalms, and the Book of Job, through meditation upon the problems raised by the sufferings of the righteous under the Seleucids, is not the development self-consistent?—is it necessary to invoke external influences?

This moral individualism led to a reconsideration of the problem of evil, and Jewish thought tended more and more towards an ethical dualism. Here Zoroastrian influence is perhaps more probable. Early Hebrew conceptions are in no way dualistic: good and evil alike have their source in Jehovah; it is Jehovah who sends the lying spirit upon the false prophets. "And (Micaiah) said Therefore hear thou the word of the Lord: I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall entice Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead? And one said on this manner; and another said on that manner. And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will entice him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said Thou shalt entice him, and shalt prevail also: go forth and do so. Now therefore, behold, the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets" (1 Kings xxii. 19-23). Even when the court of Heaven is represented after the model of the court of the Persian king, "the accuser," the "Satan," is an official of that court, and subject to the will of Jehovah (so in Zechariah iii., and in Job); he has only a delegated authority to hurt the righteous. But in 1 Chronicles xxi. 1 Satan is

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already an independent Power of Evil : thereafter he becomes the leader of the powers arrayed against God, the Prince of Evil. That this idea of an independent Prince of Evil is indeed strange to earlier Hebrew thought is illustrated by the different expedients to which later Jewish writers had resort in order to find a justification in the ancient scriptures for the new conception.⁴¹ But though Ahriman resembles Satan in being alike "opponent of God—foe of mankind, author of lies, a traitor and deceiver, an arch-fiend in command of hosts of demons," yet we seem to be able to trace in Jewish thought itself the origins of that conception : we seem to see the accuser of man gradually emancipating himself from the tutelage and service of Jehovah, until as an independent sovran he can form his own demoniac court and bid defiance to Heaven.⁴² It would appear that Zoroastrianism *may* have influenced, but can hardly have *caused* that development.

Thus is man set between the hostile armies of angels and demons, the servants of God and Devil ; and this battle must have an end,⁴³ and thus Jewish thought is led in its apocryphal writings to fashion its vision of the Last Things, just as Zoroastrianism had formed its Eschatology. And the judgment, which by the Hebrew prophets had been conceived as a judgment upon the heathen *nations*, becomes, as in Zoroastrianism, a judgment upon the *wicked* : a new world takes the place of the old, and Satan and his minions are destroyed by God, the just Judge. As the Zoroastrian looked for the coming of the Future Deliverer, Saoshyant, so the Jew was assured that the coming of the Messiah was at hand (Book of Jubilees).

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The nation and national politics fall into the background: the issue centres round the fate of each individual, and the place of the hostile empires and peoples is taken by the Devils. As in Zoroastrianism, so in Judaism there is the judgment of the individual alongside of the general judgment at the final consummation, and in the development of the imagery of this eschatology (*e.g.*, the destroying fire of the judgment day, the tide of molten metal of the Book of Enoch) it is probable that Zoroastrianism has played its part. Eduard Meyer considers that the vision of the world-judgment in the Book of Daniel vii. is borrowed directly from Parsi theology: "I beheld till thrones were placed and one that was Ancient of Days did sit: his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool: his throne was fiery flames, and the wheels thereof burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him; thousand thousands ministered unto him and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him. The judgment was set, and the books were opened." For Eduard Meyer "the Ancient of Days" is the Zoroastrian God Ahura Mazdah, and in the form of One like a Son of Man we are to see a union of the Zoroastrian angel Sraosa with the Future Deliverer Saoshyant, whose coming the disciples of Zarathustra expected. But neither identification is unquestioned;⁴⁴ indeed the One like the Son of Man is otherwise interpreted by the author of the Book of Daniel: the figure is a symbol of the whole body of the Faithful rather than any individual Saviour. For Reitzenstein,⁴⁵ the title "Son of Man" is adopted from an Iranian mystery-cult in which Man's Better Self—

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the God-Man—accepts humiliation in order to wake man from his sleep of death and summon him to the realm of light. The interest of this view lies in the suggestion that the God-Man of this Iranian belief has by identification with man taken upon himself man's limitations, he himself needs to be redeemed: he is not a purely transcendental figure. *If* the fact of the existence of this mystery-cult could be proved for the period before our era, *if* this connection of ideas had indeed become associated with the term "Son of Man," then it might help to explain the adoption by Jesus of the term and his application of it to himself. We should then have the proof of a really significant instance in which Iranian theology influenced Jewish thought.⁴⁶

Later Zoroastrianism admitted into its system the popular belief in the power of the demons. Every ill and all disease were the work of demons, and this side of Magian thought finds its obvious parallel in the general outlook of the people of Palestine at the beginning of our era. The demons and the exorcism of demons were then, just as they remained through the centuries of the Christian Empire the absorbing obsession of the minds of men. In relation to disease they occupied a position similar to that which microbes take in modern thought, as a Zoroastrian priest remarked to Professor Jackson.⁴⁷ The demon Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit has been transferred into Jewish literature, perhaps as part of a Zoroastrian story which may form the basis of that work.⁴⁸ Any detailed treatment of this belief in demons and demon possession would, however, find a more natural place in a study of the thought-world of the

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New Testament ; here a mere reference must suffice. But the importance of the ubiquitous presence of the demons for the Jews of the Hellenistic period can hardly be over-estimated : to thousands the "good news" of Christianity must primarily have consisted in the fact that through the might of the Christ they could face the demons—and conquer!⁴⁹

And amongst the doctrines of the priests of the Persian faith was, as we have seen, astrology, and it is through their study of the heavens that the priests of Zoroastrianism are linked with the birthday of Christianity. The great prophet of the Exile had hailed a Persian king as the Messiah of Jehovah : the first of Gentiles, so Christian legend told, to fall before the Christ—the Lord's Anointed—were the Magi, the priests of the prophet of Persia.

X

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DURING the fourth century the Persian Empire declined in power : the valley had its way with the mountaineer, and its rulers lost their energy, while revolts of satraps weakened the sovran's authority. Persian darics long sowed disunion among the Greek cities, until Macedonia, the new power from the North, imposed its will on all the states of Greece. After the victory of Philip at Chæronea in Boëotia (338 B.C.) a congress at the Isthmus of Corinth recognised him as captain-general of the Greek forces in the war against Persia (337 B.C.) ; but his assassination in the following year left the way open for the Asiatic campaigns of Alexander the Great. The Persian Empire was overthrown, and the single realm which Alexander sought to raise in its place did not outlive the mind which conceived it. From the welter of the warfare waged by the Diadochi—the " Successors " of Alexander —there ultimately emerged in the third century B.C. three stable empires—that of the Antigonids in Macedonia, that of the Seleucids in Asia with its capital at Antioch on the Syrian Orontes, and that of the Lagids or Ptolemies in Egypt with its capital in the city of Alexander's own foundation, which has ever since borne his name.¹

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During the third century (280-198) it was to the Ptolemies that Palestine belonged: for them the possession of Palestine was of peculiar importance: it was a bulwark against Seleucid aggression, it commanded the caravan route from Arabia to the western outlet of Gaza, while the forests of Lebanon furnished Egypt with the ship-timber which she so sorely lacked.

The history of Palestine during that century of Ptolemaic rule is lost. The law which Ezra had brought from Babylonia, which a Persian king had declared should be the law of the land, was now the foundation of a people's life: the high-priest was also the civil governor of the Jewish nation. Only at the Temple at Jerusalem could sacrifice be offered to Jehovah, and to this centre, therefore, came the Jewish pilgrims of the Dispersion. Still from the words of Jesus, son of Sirach, we can catch some idea of the wonder and the glory of the high-priestly office as it appeared to a Jew about the beginning of the second century:

Great among his brethren and the glory of his people
Was Simeon the son of Jochanan the priest . . .
How glorious was he when he looked forth from the tent,
And when he came out from the sanctuary!
Like a morning star from between the clouds,
And like the full moon on the feast-days;
Like the sun shining upon the Temple of the Most High,
And like the rainbow becoming visible in the cloud . . .
When he put on his glorious robes
And clothed himself in perfect splendour
When he went up to the altar of majesty
And made glorious the court of the sanctuary.²

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In the Testament of Judah we read : “ And now, my children, I command you, love Levi that ye may abide, and exalt not yourselves against him, lest ye be utterly destroyed. For to me the Lord gave the kingdom, and to him the priesthood, and he set the kingdom beneath the priesthood. To me he gave the things upon the earth, to him the things in the heavens. As the heaven is higher than the earth, so is the priesthood of God higher than the earthly kingdom.”³

Prophecy dies, legislation ceases, the study and the interpretation of the Law begin, and with them the formulation of a “ wise ” life in correspondence with the Law. The aim of Jewish Wisdom Literature is essentially practical, not speculative, its interest lies in ethics and not in metaphysic : it is concerned with the application of morals to the problems of daily conduct. The scholar “ who had devoted himself pre - eminently to the study of the Law and the Prophets and the rest of our national literature ”—to quote the translator’s preface to the Book of Ecclesiasticus—steps forward to teach his fellow-countrymen the way of Holy Living. If you would understand at once the strength and the limitations of that literature, read again the Book of Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach, and then turn to Mr Bevan’s sympathetic study of its author (E. Bevan : *Jerusalem under the High-Priests*. London 1904. pp. 49-68).⁴

Thus the Jews were free to live under their own laws, free to retain their own hierarchy governing on a theocratic foundation. The rule of Egypt was not oppressive : whatever other grievances the Jews may

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have had, "at least nobody tried to modernise them, and they were left to isolate themselves in their national religion and customs as completely as they liked."⁵ The government which protected the Jews might look to find in them a support for its own authority. Jews formed a separate privileged community in Alexandria; the practice of the Persian kings was maintained, and Jews were settled as military colonists by the Ptolemies.⁶ Towards the close of the third century the Seleucid Antiochos III removed 2000 Jewish families with their possessions from Mesopotamia and gave to them new homes in the disordered provinces of Phrygia and Lydia, "knowing well," as he said, "that my ancestors have borne witness to their loyalty and services."

In the world of Greek thought in the third century B.C. the old social religion of the city-state was no more paramount: it had failed to protect its adherents before the advance of Macedon: the independent city-states had themselves been merged in Hellenistic empires. Whether Alexander the Great had in fact dreamt of a world empire is a disputed question to which on our existing sources it would seem impossible to give any certain answer:⁷ but with the supersession of the city-state as the unit of Greek political life, the whole framework of men's thinking was removed: the barriers were down, the universe and the individual were brought face to face: the "œcumenical idea" triumphed. Men thought, not in terms of the city-state, but in terms of the inhabited world, the *oikoumené*:⁸ Individualism and Universalism—these are the poles of post-

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Alexandrine thinking. Here Zeno and the writer of the Book of Jonah meet. And in this new world many of the presuppositions which had previously seemed axiomatic had lost their social basis: the sanctions of inherited standards and hallowed institutions are put to the question, and everywhere scepticism triumphs. The individual and the conduct of the individual become of absorbing interest, and ethics usurps the place which metaphysics had formerly claimed. It was from Phœnicia, that coast-land which lay north of Palestine, that Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, came, and, as Mr Bevan has reminded us,⁹ the fundamental purpose of his preaching was to persuade man that certainty was *not* altogether beyond his reach—that scepticism had overshot the mark. Thus does the philosopher become a missionary.¹⁰ Jewish thought could hardly remain untouched by this widespread current of negation: it is in fact reflected for us in the Book of Ecclesiastes, probably the work of a third-century Jewish aristocrat. It would seem that the writer was acquainted with the poems of Hesiod, and that Theognis was the main foreign source drawn upon for the Preacher's store-house of aphorisms. The evidence strongly suggests, however, that "Ecclesiastes was not widely or deeply acquainted with the early Greek *literature*, *i.e.*, he had not *read* much of it. Had his reading knowledge been greater, signs of it would have been more clearly apparent. One of his type of mind would hardly have passed by the accumulated wisdom attached to the names of the Seven Sages, or the copious supply of maxims in the more nearly contemporaneous Menander."¹¹

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But for a time he would seem to have moved in circles where men's minds were stored with the wisdom-utterances of Greek teachers of practical morality, while many a "winged word" first coined by a Greek thinker must have been common currency in his day in the cities of the Nearer East. The pessimism of Ecclesiastes is, however, a natural development from the Jewish thought of the third century. There is no after-life: reward or punishment, it had been declared, is experienced in this world, justice is rendered *here*. But this view of Ezekiel was in flagrant contradiction with the facts of experience: thus unless the mind advanced to a conception of a real life after death in which the justice of God might find free scope to redress human wrongs, the only conclusion was that the riddle of life was insoluble, that life itself was without purpose or meaning.

Bubble of bubbles! All things are a Bubble!
What is the use of all Man's toil and trouble?
Year after year the Crop comes up and dies,
The Earth remains, Mankind is only Stubble.

The weary Round continues as begun,
The Eye sees naught effective to be done,
Nor does the ear hear aught to satisfy—
There's nothing, nothing New under the Sun.
But there's one Law no Wisdom can defy,
Though I be wise, I like the Fool must die.

What Gain will then to me my Wisdom bring?
"This also is a Bubble" was my Cry.

For Fools forget the wise Man who has died—
What am I saying? Can it be denied

A time will come when All will be forgot,
The Fool and Wise together, side by side?

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And so I hated Life ; it seemed a Curse,
All things under the Sun were so perverse.

All was a Bubble and a meal of Air,
And all my Wisdom had but made it worse.¹²

Thus for many a Jew of the upper classes the art of living well was summed up in the effort to increase his wealth : and with this end in view he was prepared to make his way to Alexandria, there by bribes and flattery to win the favour of the court. When he had purchased from the king the right to collect the taxes of Syria, he would shamelessly oppress the non-Jewish provincials, terrorising them by armed force, while every year his own wealth grew, and every year further well-placed bribes secured him afresh in his position. Read the story of Joseph, the son of Tobiah, as it is told by Josephus,¹³ and note how you are bidden to admire " the prudence and righteousness " of the knave. He had indeed learnt the art of " spoiling the Egyptian " and practised it with consummate mastery. Naturally, when a Seleucid conqueror took the place of Ptolemy as king in Palestine, the family of Tobiah forthwith made their court to the new lord of Syria.

In the West, during the last decades of the third century, Rome had been sustaining with unfaltering endurance the assaults of Hannibal, had at last driven him from Italy, followed him to Africa, and at the battle of Zama (202 B.C.) had inflicted upon Carthage a crushing disaster from which the great Punic city never recovered. One of the consequences of that defeat was that thereafter no power in the Western Mediterranean could challenge the supremacy of Rome ; and, the West secured, Rome could turn her

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attention to the affairs of the Greek world. Henceforward all the states which lay in or about the Eastern Mediterranean were compelled to consider the policy and behests of Rome. It must always be remembered, as it has constantly been forgotten, that after the third century B.C., we can no longer intelligently write separate histories of Greece or Rome—we are bound to write histories of the Mediterranean world, histories of actions and interactions which link Spain with Armenia, and Africa with Mesopotamia. Thus the history of Palestine in the second century can only be understood if it is studied with this width of scene for its setting. A barest outline of that history is all that can be suggested here, but that bare outline is indispensable if we would seek to trace how the rule of the Greek moulded Jewish life and thought.

A new period in the history of the Near East opens with the conquests of the Seleucid king, Antiochos the Great; in 201 B.C. Antiochos invaded Palestine which, as we have seen, had belonged for nearly a century to Egypt. The country was overrun, and only Gaza offered a determined resistance (cf. Daniel xi. 15). The ruler of Egypt was a young child, and when, in the following winter, the Egyptian army had advanced through Palestine and had once more reduced the Jews to subjection, it met the Seleucid forces in the neighbourhood of the head-waters of the Jordan at Panion and suffered a disastrous defeat. During the next few years Antiochos completed the conquest of Palestine as far as the Desert of Sinai, and then turned to subdue the Greek cities of Thrace

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and Asia Minor which belonged to Egypt. Rome's protest led to an agreement of Antiochos with the boy king (196 B.C.) ; the daughter of Antiochos was betrothed to Ptolemy, and the restoration of southern Syria (including Palestine) was promised by way of dowry. But that restoration remained a promise, and when Ptolemy was planning to enforce its fulfilment by arms, he was murdered (181-180 B.C.). Ptolemy VI did indeed renew the struggle, only to find himself utterly routed by Antiochos IV (170-169 B.C.). Palestine acknowledged a new Seleucid master.

The Jews in Jerusalem had favoured the Seleucid invaders, had furnished supplies for their troops and fodder for the elephant corps, had helped to besiege the Egyptian garrison in the citadel of Jerusalem and for their declared partisanship had suffered loss and enslavement during the ensuing advance of the Egyptians. Antiochos was not slow to acknowledge these services : amongst other favours granted to the Jews, the king declared that the Jewish law should be the law of the land, while liberal provision in money and in kind was made for the ritual of the Temple. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XII, §§ 133 *sqq.*)

It was the aristocracy of the capital—by many of whom the yoke of the Law had long been felt as a burden—who thus welcomed the Seleucids; the common folk, more loyal to the national traditions, inclined towards Egypt. In order to curry favour with the court Simon, of the house of Tobiah, suggested that the Temple treasure exceeded the needs of the service of the sanctuary—Seleucos IV might use the money for his own purpose; only a

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miracle, it was said, enabled the high-priest to withstand the attempt of Heliodoros, the Governor of Syria, to seize the treasure.

In these years of Seleucid rule it is clear that Greek influence was strong in Palestine. "The Seleucids were much more zealous for disseminating the blessings of Hellenic culture among their subjects than the Ptolemies, and in the cities of Syria, long since completely denationalised, the populations displayed a gratifying alacrity in adopting the newest fashion in civilisation. Of the finer intellectual and æsthetic influences of Greek culture little is discernible; the difference in this respect between Antioch and Alexandria is salient. The picture which Poseidonios, himself a native of Apamea, paints of the Syrian cities in his day was probably no less true at an earlier time." ¹⁴ The Seleucids were great founders of Greek cities, and everywhere there rose the Greek gymnasium with its cult of sport and bodily training, the stadium for the races that the Greek loved, the Greek theatre for tragedy and comedy and mime, the Greek temple for the worship of the pagan gods, while Greek literature brought the questionings and the scepticism of contemporary Hellenistic thought. Elsewhere the stream of Greek influence met with no resistance, but in Palestine a people's life was built upon a God-given Law and this Law dammed the course of the foreign flood. Even in Palestine, however, the priestly party in the capital and many wealthy laymen were ready enough to move with the times; the religion of Jehovah might be reformed to suit the modern fashion. With the reign of Antiochos

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Epiphanes the enforced Hellenisation of the Jewish nation became the declared policy of the Central Government.

It is easy to be less than just to Antiochos : he was a man of action, a man of large schemes and worthy of the name of king, says Polybius (xxviii. 18). He sought to restore the prestige and military strength of the Seleucid realm. As founder of cities he continued the policy of his predecessors, by royal munificence to other Greek states he sought to bind them to himself.¹⁵ While closely allied with Macedonia and the Attalid dynasty of Pergamon, he was naturally the foe of Egypt—and behind Egypt stood Rome. But through his policy of unification he awoke amongst the Jews a passionate opposition ; in a cosmopolitan world the Jews remained a nation, and amongst them there was still a remnant which was resolved to sacrifice life itself in defence of the national inheritance.

In Palestine¹⁶ Jason, the brother of the high-priest Onias, headed the party of the Hellenisers : in place of the " holy covenant " (1 Macc. i. 15) with Jehovah let us, he urged, make a new covenant " with the heathen that are about us, for since we departed from them many ills have come upon us." A petition was addressed to the king asking that a gymnasium might be erected in Jerusalem, and that the youth of the Jewish capital might be organised, as at Athens, into companies of *ephebi* for bodily and intellectual training. The request was granted. Onias was deposed, Jason became high-priest. Jerusalem received a constitution modelled on that of the typical Greek city-state, while the citizens

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were permitted to acquire—"doubtless not gratuitously" (Moore)—the citizenship of the Seleucid capital. The Jewish law ceased to be the law of the land. Youths streamed to the gymnasium wearing the broad-brimmed hat of the *ephebi* which to men of the older school became the hated symbol of national apostasy (2 Macc. iv. 12), and even the priests left the Temple service to crowd the wrestling school. When the quinquennial games were held at Tyre in the presence of Antiochos, Jason sent 300 drachmas of silver to the sacrifice in honour of Heracles (=Melkart). Jerusalem was a Jewish city no longer.

The descendants of Tobiah (cf. p. 144) determined to exploit to the full the favour which they enjoyed at the Seleucid Court. The house of Tobiah was not a priestly family, but none the less Menelaos, a Tobiad, aspired to the high-priesthood. By promises of a higher tribute to be paid to the royal exchequer he achieved his ambition; in 170 B.C. Jason was deposed, and Menelaos, bidding defiance to all tradition, became high-priest. About the same time Onias, the legitimate high-priest whom Jason had superseded (the "Anointed" of Daniel ix. 26; cf. 2 Macc. iv. 31 ff.), was assassinated.¹⁷ Menelaos and his brother Lysimachos plundered the temple treasure on the king's behalf. A riot followed this profanation, in which Lysimachos lost his life. Menelaos was brought before the tribunal of Antiochos at Tyre and was acquitted, the leaders of the revolt were put to death (169 B.C. spring?).

At this time Rome was engaged in a war with Perseus of Macedonia: to Antiochos the moment

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seemed favourable for an attack upon Egypt.* The revolt in Jerusalem he must have regarded as a Jewish rising in the Egyptian interest. He was on his march against the kingdom of the Ptolemies when at Tyre he condemned the rioters. In the campaign of 169 B.C. Egypt was invaded and opposition beaten down, though Alexandria still resisted. During the king's absence Jason attempted to recover the high-priesthood : his attempt failed, but it was a warning to Antiochos. On his return to Asia in the summer of 169¹⁸ the king passed through Jerusalem, entered the Holy of Holies, and ordered the Temple vessels to be removed. He is said to have carried with him to Antioch from the Temple 1800 talents. His soldiers massacred and enslaved the inhabitants ; within the Jewish capital and in Garizim Syrian garrisons were stationed. In 168 B.C. Antiochos marched for the second time into Egypt ; the Egyptian fleet was defeated off Cyprus, the Syrian army advanced on Alexandria. But on June 22, 168 B.C. Perseus of Macedonia was crushed by the decisive victory of the Roman army on the battle-field of Pydna ; then through her envoy Rome spoke, and Antiochos was constrained to obey. He was bidden to evacuate Egypt and Cyprus and withdraw his demands upon the kingdom of the Ptolemies. The expectation of Egyptian conquest was frustrated. Yet, if Rome would not permit Antiochos to add new provinces to his empire, within his own frontiers he could consolidate his realm by the assimilation of all

* Antiochos had, it seems, feared an attack by Egypt on Phœnicia in 170 B.C., cf. Kolbe, *Beiträge zur syrischen und jüdischen Geschichte*, pp. 99-100.

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his subjects to a common Hellenistic model: that realm should be welded into a new cohesion through the systematic elimination of national eccentricities. It was a policy conceived for the empire as a whole, not merely a measure directed against the Jews and the Jewish Law. This broadly planned conception of Antiochos is clearly defined in the First Book of the Maccabees: "King Antiochos wrote to his whole kingdom that all should be one people, and every one should desert his own (peculiar) usages; so all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the king" (ch. i. 41-2).

But for the Jew the Law of Jehovah was no mere human ordinance that could be surrendered lightly at the fiat of a Syrian king. Antiochos well knew that the population of Palestine would not easily be persuaded to imitate the docility of "the heathen." He would forestall resistance and anticipate the obstinacy of the fanatic. When the news of the Syrian repulse from Egypt had reached Asia, a revolt had broken out in Phœnicia; Palestine should not be suffered to emulate the rebels of the Semitic seaboard. Encamped before Jerusalem (167 B.C.) the Syrian general Apollonios¹⁹ professed that he came in peace, but on the Sabbath, when the Law forbade any opposition, he entered the city and let loose his troops on the defenceless crowds: in massacre and arson the capital of the Jews should be destroyed and its walls levelled. A new Greek city was founded to take its place: the Temple of Jehovah was transformed into a temple of the Olympian Zeus; a royal edict forbade under penalty of death the celebration of the Jewish rites (December

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167 B.C.).²⁰ "The Temple was filled with riot and revelling by the Gentiles . . . neither was it lawful for a man to keep Sabbath days or ancient feasts or to profess himself at all to be a Jew. And in the day of the king's birth every month they were brought by bitter constraint to eat of the sacrifices, and when the feast of Bacchus was kept, the Jews were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus carrying ivy" (2 Macc. vi. 4-7). The violence of the persecution together with the horrors of famine threatened completely to break down the national resistance; inspectors were appointed who went round the cities of Judah "city by city" compelling the inhabitants to sacrifice: "idol altars" were built "throughout the cities of Judah on every side": the books of the Law were burnt "and wheresoever was found with any the Book of the Covenant, or if any consented to the Law, the King's commandment was that they should put him to death." The account of that persecution as it is given in the first chapter of the First Book of the Maccabees ends with the magnificent words: "Howbeit many in Israel were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves not to eat any unclean thing. Wherefore they chose rather to die that they might not be defiled with meats and that they might not profane the holy covenant: *so then they died.*" It was this persecution which made Hellenism a thing intolerable in Palestine: it ultimately restored, as nothing else could have done, the sole and unquestioned authority of the Jewish Law. This is not the place to tell once again the story of the birth of opposition to the persecutors—how Mattathias and his sons became the centre of that

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opposition, carrying on a war of extermination alike against pagan and renegade Jew ; the history of that struggle must be read in the First and Second books of the Maccabees : here it will suffice to recall the critical moments in that long-drawn contest between the Greek and the Jew before we turn to consider the outcome in Jewish thought of the Seleucid persecution.

After the death of Mattathias (166-5 B.C.) his son, Judas Maccabeus,—Judas “the Hammer”—was chosen to lead the forces of the insurgents, and began a ceaseless guerilla warfare.²¹ On the east of the Seleucid kingdom the Parthians had taken the offensive and the danger to the realm of Antiochos was imminent. In 165-4 B.C., the Syrian king led his army across the Euphrates, leaving Lysias as regent in Antioch.²² The war in the East absorbed the energies of Antiochos until his death in the spring of 163 B.C. : his hands were tied, he could not enforce his policy of assimilation, and Judas at the head of the rebels in Palestine gained further successes. The Seleucid governor of the province of Syria reported that the situation was becoming serious : the central administration dispatched a considerable force to put an end to the rebellion (? summer 164), but the general's camp was captured and the campaign accomplished nothing. As a result of this success Judas now took the offensive, and marched against Jerusalem. Though he could not drive the royal garrison from the citadel, he gained possession of the Temple, the heathen worship was abolished and on 25 Kislev (December) 164 B.C.—the anniversary of the profanation of the sanctuary

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three years before—a feast of purification was celebrated and the worship of Jehovah restored.²³ Mount Sion was fortified and garrisoned. Judas then marched against Idumæa, and attacked the Seleucid commanders in Transjordan. These operations and a second campaign against Idumæa occupied the year 163 B.C., in which Antiochos died. On his death-bed he appointed his general, Philippos, as regent and guardian of his son. In Antioch, however, Lysias, who had formerly acted as regent during the king's absence in the East, usurped the position of royal chancellor, and secured the accession of the son of Antiochos, who assumed the name of Eupator. It was thus natural that Lysias should seek in the first place to protect himself against the arrival of Philippos from the eastern front: the resumption of hostilities in Palestine was postponed. Meanwhile the governor of the Syrian province advised a policy of conciliation, but Judas would listen to no suggestion of compromise, and at length attacked the Seleucid garrison in Jerusalem. The high-priest Menelaos urged the chancellor to action. Lysias was now persuaded that the aggression of Judas had rendered conciliation impossible, but, since Menelaos had failed in his task of controlling his fellow-countrymen, he must pay the penalty: the high-priest was condemned to death. Lysias in person assumed command of the Syrian army,²⁴ marched by way of Idumæa against Jerusalem, and besieged the Temple hill. Famine and desertion were thinning the ranks of the defenders when Philippos, returning, entered Antioch and claimed the regency. At once this domestic

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danger changed the whole situation in Palestine, and Lysias was forced to offer favourable terms to the rebels. The Jews were granted complete religious freedom, and Judas was pardoned; but at the same time a Syrian military governor was appointed to maintain the royal authority within the province.

But for the Jewish patriots religious freedom was not enough: they now aimed at complete independence. The Seleucid Empire was weakened by the usurpation of Demetrios I, while Rome supported Timarchos, the revolting satrap of Babylon, in his claim to the throne. In 161 B.C. the senate concluded a formal treaty with Judas Maccabaeus, promising support in the event of a Syrian attack. Alcimos, the new high-priest, a nominee of the Seleucid court, appealed to Demetrios. Though the Jewish rabbis recognised the title of Alcimos,²⁵ Judas refused to surrender his advantage, and in 160 B.C. war broke out afresh. Nicanor, the Syrian general, fell, and Bacchides succeeded to his command: accompanied by Alcimos, he marched against the rebel leader. Desertion reduced the forces of Judas to 800 men: this small band broke the right wing of the Syrian army, but, when the left wing pressed hard on the followers of Judas, the unequal conflict could have but one end: Judas met his death on the field of battle. The Syrian was master in the land. But the government had learnt its lesson, and the grant of religious freedom was not withdrawn. Jonathan and the other brothers of Judas, supported by a few enthusiasts, continued a guerilla warfare, but at length even Jonathan made his peace with Bacchides. It must

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never be forgotten that "the revolt was not, as is sometimes imagined, the uprising of the Jewish people with one heart to save its imperilled religion. To say nothing of the high-priests, who owed to the king the civil and religious headship of the people, and their following, what would nowadays be called the solid part of the community, the men of property and position in Jerusalem, would have been unlike their kind if peace and order in which to enjoy their privilege had not seemed to them the condition of all earthly good. . . . After the recovery of the Temple, and the guarantee of religious liberty by the compact between Lysias and Judas, the cause for which the Maccabean faction had taken up arms was no longer a living issue."²⁶ It might well have seemed that the last act in the drama had been played.

But it was not so : in 152 B.C., as ten years previously, the Jewish situation was completely changed through the reaction of the politics of Antioch upon the history of Palestine. The drama had not yet reached its end. Demetrios I was alarmed by the menace of a new rival to his throne, Alexander Balas, whose claims, like those of Timarchos before him, were upheld by the Roman senate. Both Demetrios and Alexander sought to outbid each other in their feverish anxiety to secure the support of the Jews : Demetrios appointed Jonathan as his military representative in Palestine, and thus placed the forces of Syria at the service of the champion of Judaism. It was Jonathan's hour : he set to work to clear the country of the Hellenisers. The broom was in the hand of the Maccabean, and it swept away his foes rigorously, ruthlessly. In 159 B.C.

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the high-priest Alcimos had died, and Bacchides had not concerned himself to secure the appointment of a successor : he might arouse to some new outbreak the dormant fanaticism of the Jews. This omission gave to Alexander Balas his opportunity : he nominated Jonathan as high-priest (October 152 B.C.) ; he would thus outbribe Demetrios. All the counter-inducements of Demetrios failed of their effect : Jonathan continued to support the Pretender, and when two years later Alexander had defeated Demetrios in battle, his Jewish partisan received his reward : Jonathan was made a general and provincial governor of the Seleucid Empire.

A new domestic struggle for the imperial crown distracted the energies of the Seleucid State for another decade, and enabled the two Maccabean brothers, Jonathan and Simon, to gain for the Jews their independence. When Jonathan was captured and put to death by one claimant to the throne, Simon went over to his rival, and was recognised as high-priest and ruler of Palestine : " thus the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel " (143-2 B.C.), " then the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts ' In the first year of Simon, the high-priest, the governor and leader of the Jews ' " (1 Macc. xiii. 41-42). Rome acknowledged the independence of the priest-state, and forbade the powers of Asia to support its foes. The victory was won. The Hellenising party was exterminated : the whole nation was devoted to orthodoxy. It has been suggested that men even hoped that the Messianic kingdom would be established in Simon's day. In the Testaments of the

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Twelve Patriarchs the descent of the Messiah is no longer traced to Judah but to Levi, from whom the family of the Maccabees claimed to be descended, while some scholars have thought ²⁷ that the 110th Psalm, in its picture of the priest-king Messiah, refers directly to Simon. "Simon was the first Maccabee whose high-priesthood was recognised by the entire nation"; ²⁸ in a popular decree of the year 142 B.C. the Jews could describe him as "their ruler and high-priest for ever," 1 Macc. xiv. 27-49. A hymn describing the Messianic blessedness of his reign is preserved in 1 Macc. xiv. 8 *sqq.*

Simon was murdered by his stepson, but was succeeded by his own son John Hyrcanus, 135 B.C., and in the same year the Syrian monarchy made its last attempt to restore Greek authority in Palestine. Antiochos Sidetes besieged Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and in the autumn of 134 B.C. compelled him to open up negotiations. A return to the religious policy of Antiochos Epiphanes was discussed, but it was agreed that it was impracticable: it would have met with the united opposition of the whole Jewish people. John Hyrcanus was, it is true, forced to submit to the exaction of an annual tribute, but in the years following his submission the Seleucid kingdom fell into a rapid decline, and John was able to reassert his independence, thereafter, according to a contemporary writer, embracing in his own person the triple office of prophet, priest and ruler.²⁹

We need not follow the history of the successors of John Hyrcanus: the Maccabees of the first century B.C. "were foremost in godlessness and immorality."

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Rather with this historical background thus sketched we may try to summarise the result of the conflict of Judaism with the civilisation of the Greeks.

The significance of this period in the history of the Jews is perhaps even yet hardly appreciated: they were a "peculiar people," and the followers of the Maccabees reasserted that separateness from the heathen which was the consequence of Jehovah's election. That contrast was branded upon a nation's consciousness by the Selucid persecution. The People of Jehovah stood solitary against the background of the Gentile world. And not only so: the Gentiles on their side were forced to take knowledge of this strange, stiff-necked folk; they were constrained to yield to this Peculiar People the religious liberty, the independence which they claimed: there they stood, an erratic block in an otherwise homogeneous Hellenistic society. Their "peculiarity" was incorporated in a state of this world: they were "an alternative to civilisation, as then understood,"³⁰ isolated before the eyes of men. And that was the work of Antiochos Epiphanes, for, as Burkitt has truly said, it was under Antiochos that Israel rose up once more to be a nation, baptised to a new life in the blood of the martyrs: and the resurrection of the nation was the triumph of that God-given Law through and in which Israel found its life.

The Greek banished Hellenism from Palestine: if "the Law of Moses" had been imposed on the post-exilic community by the edict of a Persian king, the attempt of the Seleucid to banish it from

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the land only assured its final triumph. There might be differences between Sadducees and Pharisees ³¹ in the first century B.C., but they were only differences in the *interpretation* of the Law: the supremacy of that Law was unquestioned.

And while men fought and died, the Scribes gave themselves with selfless devotion to the study and preservation of the Scriptures of their people; ³² gradually the Canon of the Sacred Books was formed: "to the Prophet it had been given to make the Religion of Israel, but the Scribe made the Bible." ³³ The treasure became a nation's inheritance, and that inheritance was *adequate*: it did not admit either of addition or subtraction. "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish it, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you" (Deuteronomy iv. 2, cf. xii. 32). But the free spirit of man with the message of his God pent within him cannot be silenced by any Canon of the Scribes: he knows that God *is* adding unto His word. Once again he feels, as Jeremiah before him, the intolerable compulsion of the Word of Jehovah:

If I said "I will seek to forget Him
And speak no more in His name,"
'Twas like glowing fire in my breast
Shut up in my bones:
I was weary with keeping it under,
I could not hold out.*

And since the Canon was closed, and since the roll of Jehovah's prophets was complete, God's messenger

* Skinner's translation of *Jeremiah* xx. 9.

must be anonymous—or he must veil his identity behind the name of one of those champions of Israel's God who had lived before a closed Canon sealed a prophet's lips. Thus arose the Apocalyptic Literature of the Jews ³⁴—Apocalypse which is Prophecy born out of the scribe's due time. It has been said ³⁵ that “prophecy is concerned with the will of God for the present and the immediate future. In apocalypse the future contemplated belongs to another order. This present world inspires too little hope for the kindling of high religious enthusiasm; and the faith of men who fervently believe in the omnipotence and the perfect justice of God comforts itself by the assurance of a theodicy beyond the veil that only death can draw aside.” That may be true as a general statement, but it is not true of the Jewish apocalyptic literature, which is born of the conviction that Jehovah does speak through his prophets, that the future *can* be known, that redemption is *near*, that the Kingdom of God is *at hand*: Watch and pray!

It is a queer literature, this literature of the Jewish apocalypses—fantastic and illogical: yet “after all a logical apocalypse would most likely be a dull apocalypse” (Burkitt). We shall only find it worth our study if we see in it a vision of Hope in hopelessness, a faith in final Justice when Justice seems to have fled the world.³⁶ One example of this queer literature passing under the name of the Jewish hero Daniel ³⁷ found acceptance into the Canon—all the rest was disowned by the Rabbinic Judaism of the early centuries of the Christian era. The

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religious conviction which led some of the orthodox to migrate to Damascus (c. 170 B.C.), there to found a community of the New Covenant,³⁸ led others to revive the traditional stories of steadfast endurance under oppression: the hero of the past could thus be represented as "foreseeing" the sufferings of the present, and could encourage the victims of persecution by the promise of a speedy release. This apocalyptic thought is, it must be repeated, essentially prophetic in character, in that it is prepared boldly to face the old problems and to propound new solutions. In the sight of the death of the martyrs it gradually evolved a doctrine of the after-life which became the common possession of the Jews of Christ's day: to Herod the obvious explanation of the ministry of Jesus was that John had risen from the dead. In the second century the doctrine of an after-life is struggling for recognition. Ezekiel had conceived of the resurrection of the Jewish *nation* (chap. xxxvii).^{*} It is thought by some that "though the Book of Job does not teach categorically the idea of a future life it undoubtedly suggests it,"[†] but it is in the last chapter of Daniel that we first certainly meet with the assurance of a *personal resurrection*; and not merely so, but this personal resurrection leads into a world of *moral distinctions*. No longer are the dead a host of shadows in Sheol, where the evil man is not differentiated from the

^{*} Cf. Isaiah xxvi. 12-19 (a prophecy dating from the time of Alexander the Great?).

[†] R. H. Charles. *Religious Development between the Old and the New Testaments* (=Home University Library). London, 1914. p. 111, cf. Job xiv. 13-15; xix. 25-27.

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good. The orthodoxy of the third century could write—

“Fear not death . . .

(Be it) for a thousand years, for a hundred, or for ten
(that thou livest)

In Sheol there are no corrections concerning life.

For what pleasure hath God in all that perish in Hades
Instead of the living and those that give him praise.”

Ecclesiasticus. xli. 3-4 ; xvii. 27.

In Daniel xii. 2-3, we read :

“And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament ; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.”

The resurrection from the dead is not yet universal : only the champions of Jehovah's cause “shall awake to everlasting life” (cf. 2 Maccabees vii. 9 with vii. 14) ; but the new doctrine gradually gains ground : its defence is put in the mouth of Enoch, who having been translated to the other world can best reveal the truth to men.* The judgment which the sinner and the righteous must face, the whole scheme of the “last things” as painted in Jewish apocalyptic may, as we have seen, have borrowed some of its imagery from Zoroastrianism, but it is surely out of the depths of an inward religious experience, out of the practical problems which the persecution presented to the minds of the orthodox, that the Jewish belief in the after-life was born :³⁹ the agonies of that fierce duel between

* Enoch xcii.-civ. Cf. Psalm xvi., xvii., xlix. and lxxiii.

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Hellenism and Judaism were its birth-throes. This world was not enough: a new world was imperatively demanded to redress the balance. In this fact lies much of the religious significance of the struggle.

Thus the literature which moulded the popular thought of the Palestine in which Jesus taught was first fashioned in the fiery trial of Seleucid persecution. Rome was the willing captive of Greek thought: in Palestine the Greek only strengthened the loyalty of the Jew to his national ideals, his national inheritance. That fact is of profound importance for the study of the teaching of Jesus and of his life as presented in the Synoptic Gospels: it is to an intensely Jewish land that Christ came, it is in Jewish forms that his teaching had perforce to be given. "Christ's preaching has no relation to Hellenism."⁴⁰ Burkitt has written "if the message of the Gospel be important for us, if we want to know what the words of Jesus sounded like when they were first uttered, then we must endeavour to put ourselves into the mental attitude of his audience. And I know of no single book that helps one to do this so directly as the *Assumption of Moses*."⁴¹

But the Maccabean protest which effectually put a stop to the extension of Greek influence in Palestine did not spread to the great Egyptian centre of the Jewish dispersion—Alexandria.⁴² Here the Jews were dwelling in a city which was from the first a Greek foundation where under the patronage of the Ptolemies Greek literature was studied, where Greek science achieved its most splendid triumphs. As the Greek language became the common

medium of communication there developed in the Egyptian capital a cosmopolitan culture: the Greek writer no longer addressed only the inhabitants of the Greek city states: he wrote for the world of his day. If the Jew would appeal to the Gentile, he, too, must write in Greek. Just as the Roman composed his history on Greek models to persuade the world that he was no barbarian—that he also possessed a historic past—so the Jew would meet the contempt of the Gentile by telling in the tongue of the Gentile his nation's story. Egypt since the days of Herodotus had impressed the imagination of the Greek with the sheer antiquity of its civilisation: the Jew would over-trump the Egyptian and would demonstrate that from his nation were derived the sources of the world's culture. A Jewish apologetic is created.

These apologetic works have perished ⁴³ save for a few extracts from them preserved by the Christian writers Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius, but we know that Eupolemos (*c.* the middle of the second century?) in his book *On the Kings of Judea* related that Moses had given to the Jews the alphabet, the Jews were the teachers of the Phœnicians, who in their turn transmitted this knowledge to the Greeks. Another Jewish apologist, writing under the name of Artapanos, was bolder, and claimed that the Egyptians owed their civilisation to the Jews: while Abraham had instructed them in astrology, and Joseph in agriculture, Moses had taught them the arts of navigation and architecture, warfare and philosophy; he it was who had constituted the *nomes*—the administrative divisions of

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Egypt—and had even founded their national religion.

If such statements were met with incredulity, they could be reinforced by the authority of the great names of the literature of classical Greece: Jewish apologetic takes a new form. "History was represented by a pseudo-Hecataeus, poetry by spurious verses attributed to Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod, Æschylus, Sophocles . . . Menander. Orpheus was made to recant his polytheism and proclaim the one true God: Sophocles to foretell the end of the world by fire and the future blessedness of the righteous. All this was merely the forcible entry upon the heritage of the Hellenes; the major premise underlying it was the genuine conviction that the creed of revelation was in fact older and truer than the wisdom and worship of the Greek. The Jewish 'forgers' doubtless felt themselves to be merely rewriting Greek literature as it ought to have been written." ⁴⁴

Above all the Sibyl, the oldest of the Greek prophets, was constrained to bear her witness; here the formlessness of the Sibylline oracles made adaptation easier. Babylonian traditions had already been incorporated, by Berosus, a priest of Bel, in a book which passed under the name of the Babylonian Sibyl: "Conceive, then, an Alexandrian Jew, about 160 B.C. in whose hands is a work . . . accepted as Sibylline, but containing—in a pagan form, of course—the stories of the Deluge and the Tower of Babel, together with a rationalistic handling of Greek religion. What Berosus had begun, the Jew could not fail to continue. A few touches only were

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needed to expunge the polytheism of the Berosian stories: the rest could be incorporated *en bloc*.”⁴⁵

Thus did the Jew create the models for the Christian apologists of a later day.⁴⁶

But the Jewish propaganda did not end here: the most powerful instrument in the missionary activity of the Jews was the Greek translation of their sacred Scriptures. The significance of that work of translation⁴⁷ for the early Christian Church cannot be overestimated, for the Scriptures of the Jew were none the less the Scriptures of the Christian, and as the new faith spread through the Greek-speaking provinces of the Roman world, the Septuagint gave to the converts in their own tongue the sacred literature which the Christian had inherited from the Jew. The Jewish rejection of Hellenism in Palestine prepared the way for Jesus: the Jewish acceptance of Hellenism in Alexandria prepared the way for the early Church.

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WITH the coming of the Roman to Palestine this essay finds its natural close, for the history of the Jews under Roman rule has no place in an introduction to the study of the Old Testament. In 63 B.C. Pompey the Great entered Jerusalem, and in 37 B.C. the last of the Hasmonean rulers was succeeded by the hated Idumean, Herod the Great. He might rebuild the Temple of Jehovah in a magnificence which aroused the wonder of his subjects, but on this alien, the friend of the Roman conqueror, the hopes of Israel could not be set. A worldly Sadducean aristocracy might be content to enjoy to the full the favour of the court, the Pharisee might find his satisfaction in the study and elaboration of the precepts of the Law, the Zealot might gather his armed bands to take by force the kingdom of heaven and establish it among men, but there remained those humbler folk¹ whose piety is enshrined in many a psalm, whose loyalty had been confirmed by the visions of the apocalyptic writers, who still looked for the intervention of Jehovah—for the appearance of One Who should redeem Israel. Then the Idumean usurper should rule no longer in the room of David, the might of Rome should be broken, and the dream which the Hasmonean priest-king had falsified should at last come true. It must be that

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the spirit and the power of Elias should return to make ready a people prepared for the Lord, till the day of Jehovah should dawn—the day when the Lord God should visit and redeem his people and should give unto the Son of the Highest the throne of his father David.

The history of Israel is the history of a hope which could not be extinguished; against the oppression of the mighty, against the menace of the empires, there had ever risen the appeal to the righteousness and the justice of Jehovah: that appeal was now to be answered finally and for ever:

Blessed are ye, ye righteous and elect,

For glorious shall be your lot.

And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun

And the elect in the light of eternal life. . . .

And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits.

There shall be peace to the righteous in the name of the Eternal Lord

. . . And there shall be a light that never endeth

. . . And the light of righteousness established for ever before the Lord of Hosts.

Book of Enoch lviii.

It was neither Sadducee nor Pharisee who welcomed the birth of Jesus; the Magnificat is the hymn of those humble souls who had awaited salvation from Jehovah's hand: the Nunc dimittis is their affirmation that the dream had been realised, that God had performed the mercy promised to the Fathers.

BRIEF TABLE OF DATES

Hammurabi of Babylon	c. 2000 B.C.	
Abraham	? c. 1500 B.C.	
Thutmose III	c. 1501-1447 B.C.	
Amenhotep II	c. 1448-1420 B.C.	
Thutmose IV	c. 1420-1411 B.C.	
Amenhotep III	c. 1411-1375 B.C.	} Period of Tell el-Amarna Tablets.
Amenhotep IV (=Akhnaten)	c. 1375-1358 B.C.	
Ramses II (=? Pharaoh of the Oppression)	c. 1292-1225 B.C.	
Merenptah (=? Pharaoh of the Exodus)	c. 1225-1215 B.C.	
Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt	? c. 1220 B.C.	
Victory of Ramses III at Pelusium	c. 1194 B.C.	
Advance of Joshua into Canaan	? c. 1190 B.C.	
Capture of the Ark by the Philis- tines	? c. 1080 B.C.	
David	c. 1000 B.C.	
Jeroboam I	c. 931-911 B.C.	
Rehoboam	c. 932-915 B.C.	
Omri	c. 886-875 B.C.	
Ahab	c. 875-854 B.C.	
Battle of Karkar	854 B.C.	
Jehu	c. 842-815 B.C.	
Jeroboam II	c. 784-744 B.C.	
Fall of Samaria	c. 721 B.C.	
Sennacherib	705-681 B.C.	
Sennacherib's invasion of Judah	701 B.C.	

BRIEF TABLE OF DATES

Josiah's religious reformation	622 B.C.
Fall of Nineveh	612 B.C.
Death of Josiah	608 (? 609) B.C.
Nebuchadnezzar captures Jerusalem	597 B.C.
Destruction of Jerusalem and	
deportation of the Jews	586 B.C.
Cyrus captures Babylon	538 B.C.
Return of Sheshbazzar to Jerusalem	538-7 B.C.
Cambyses	528-521 B.C.
Darius	521-485 B.C.
Foundation of the Temple by	
Zerubbabel.	520 B.C.
Xerxes I	485-465 B.C.
Artaxerxes I	465-425 B.C.
Mission of Nehemiah	445 B.C.
Artaxerxes II	404-359 B.C.
Arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem	? 398 B.C.
Alexander the Great	336-323 B.C.
Antiochos (III) the Great	223-187 B.C.
Antiochos (IV) Epiphanes	176-75-163 B.C.
Capture of Jerusalem. Jewish	
worship ceases	December, 167 B.C.
Purification of the Temple	December, 164 B.C.
Pompey enters Jerusalem	63 B.C.
Accession of Herod the Great	37 B.C.

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(NOTE.—Where no place of publication is mentioned, the book was published in London.)

THIS Bibliography is intended for the use of the general reader ; I have therefore quoted very few foreign books, and those mainly where I knew of no corresponding English work. References to literature of a more specialised character will be found in the *Notes*.

If I were asked to name *three* books and three books only which would be of most service to the student of the Old Testament, I think I should choose

A. S. Peake : *A Commentary on the Bible*, Jack, 1919, 10s. 6d.

G. A. Barton : *Archæology and the Bible*, 2nd ed., American Sunday School Union, Philadelphia, 1917, \$2.

The People and the Book, ed. A. S. Peake, Oxford University Press, 1925, 10s.

GENERAL HISTORIES OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

For the purposes of the general reader the best sketch is probably that of J. H. Breasted : *Ancient Times*, Ginn & Co., 1916, 10s. 6d., but this is only an outline, and many may prefer to read H. R. Hall : *The Ancient History of the Near East* (many editions), Methuen (5th ed., £1, 1s.).

The latest results of modern research are incorporated in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (see p. 175), and this should be consulted, if it is accessible. There is a recent brief one-

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Students should read the two little volumes in the *Home University Library* :

- J. L. Myres : *The Dawn of History*, and
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- G. W. Wade : *Old Testament History*, Methuen, 9th ed., 7s. 6d.
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- H. P. Smith : *Old Testament History*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1911 (in *International Theological Library*), 14s.

The four little volumes of Kent and Riggs (in the *Historical Series for Bible Students*, Smith Elder & Co., 6s. each) :

1. C. F. Kent : *The United Kingdom* ;
2. „ *The Divided Kingdom* ;
3. „ *The Babylonian, Persian and Greek Periods* ;
4. J. S. Riggs : *The Maccabean and Roman Period* ;

are interesting and suggestive.

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These four volumes, or Wade's one-volume history, will probably be found most helpful.

For serious work on Old Testament History there is unfortunately no modern History of Israel in English. The one magnificent history of the Hebrews down to the Exile is that of R. Kittel : *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 5th and 6th ed., 1923-5, 2 vols., 12 marks each (but for Kittel's *Introduction to the Hexateuch* readers must refer to the 2nd [1912] or 3rd [1916] edition), Perthes, Stuttgart. An English translation of this work is badly needed. The other modern history of Israel (at present only Vol. I, down to the Exile), on a much smaller scale, but of real originality and great interest, is E. Sellin's *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, Quelle und Meyer, Leipzig, 1924.

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There are three works by C. Ryder Smith :

- (i) *The Bible Doctrine of Society and its Historical Evolution*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1920, 18s.
- (ii) *The Bible Doctrine of Womanhood*, Epworth Press, 1923, 3s. 6d.
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* These two books I have not seen : they have been praised by competent authorities.

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Paul Dhorme : *Choix de Textes religieux assyro-babyloniens* (in the Series *Études bibliques*), Lecoffre, Paris, 1907.

R. W. Rogers : *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, Oxford University Press, 1912, 25s. Will shortly appear in a new edition.

Cf. Samuel A. B. Mercer : *Extra-Biblical Sources for Hebrew and Jewish History*, Longman, 1913, 6s.

On the *Hammurabi Code* (see note on p. 210).

C. H. W. Johns : Article in Extra Volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* ; and for bibliography cf. the Appendix to his *The Relation between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples* (= Schweich Lectures), 2nd ed., Milford, 1917, 3s. The Code is translated in Barton : *Archæology and the Bible* (see p. 172).

S. A. Cook : *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, Black, 1903, 6s.

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Chilperic Edwards: *The Hammurabi Code*, 3rd ed., Watts & Co., 1921, 5s.

For a useful bibliography of recent work, see E. F. Weidner: *Die Assyriologie 1914-1922*, Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1922.

For the connections of Israel with Babylon, cf. W. L. Wardle: *Israel and Babylon*, Holborn Publishing House, 1925, 5s.

EGYPT

(i) HISTORY

Breasted: *A History of Egypt*, Hodder & Stoughton, 42s., or in shorter form

History of the Ancient Egyptians (in the *Historical Series for Bible Students*), Smith Elder, 1908, 6s.

For a very brief outline of Egyptian history see

P. E. Newberry and J. Garstang: *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, Constable, 1911, 3s. 6d.

and cf.

E. A. Wallis Budge: *A Short History of the Egyptian People*, Dent, 1914, 3s. 6d.

(ii) CIVILISATION

A. Moret: *Le Nil et la Civilisation égyptienne*, La Renaissance du Livre, Paris, 1926.

Social Life.

W. M. Flinders Petrie: *Social Life in Ancient Egypt*, Constable, 1923, 6s.

The classical study is by A. Erman: *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Macmillan, 1894 (out of print).

And see the new German edition edited by H. Ranke: *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*, Mohr, Tübingen, 1923.

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E. A. Wallis Budge: *A Short History of the Egyptian People* (*supra*), chaps. 7-9.

James Baikie: *The Amarna Age*, Black, 1926, 12s. 6d.

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E. A. Wallis Budge: *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, Dent, 1914, 3s. 6d.

W. M. Flinders Petrie: *Egyptian Tales*, 2 vols., Methuen, 1895, 5s. each. (Vol. I, 4th ed., 1926, 6s.)

G. Maspero: *Contes populaires* (several editions), Guilmoto, Paris. (English Translation, Grevel, 1915, 10s. 6d., under the title *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*.)

A. Erman: *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1923.

Art, etc.

G. Maspero: *Art in Egypt*, Heinemann, 1912, 6s. *Id.* *Manual of Egyptian Archæology*, Grevel & Co., 1914, 6th ed., 1914, 6s.

J. Capart: *Primitive Art in Egypt*, Grevel, 1905. 16s.

E. Bell: *The Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, Bell, 1915, 6s.

Petrie: *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt*, Foulis, 1909, 7s. 6d.

Religion.

Alfred Wiedemann: *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, Grevel, 1897, 12s. 6d.

J. H. Breasted: *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1923, 15s.

M. A. Murray: *Ancient Egyptian Legends* (in the *Wisdom of the East Series*), Murray, 1920, 3s. 6d., and cf.

G. Roeder: *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten*, Diederichs, Jena, 1915.

For a very useful bibliography cf. Ida A. Pratt: *Ancient Egypt*, New York Public Library, 1925.

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THE HITTITES

With the Empire of the Hittites this book is only indirectly concerned : it will suffice to refer here to

Hogarth in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. II, chap. xi.

Cowley : *The Hittites* (= Schweich Lectures, 1918), Milford, 1920, 6s.

D. G. Hogarth : *The Kings of the Hittites* (= Schweich Lectures, 1924), Milford, 1926, 6s.

And a useful pamphlet by B. Meissner : *Zur Geschichte des Chattireiches nach neuerschlossenen Urkunden des chattischen Staatsarchivs*, Aderholz, Breslau, 1917.

For a bibliography of modern work on the Hittites cf. G. Contenau : *Éléments de Bibliographie hittite*, Paris, Geuthner, 1922.

For Hittite religion cf. H. Zimmern in *Bilderatlas zur Religions-geschichte*, Lieferung 5, Leipzig, 1925, M. 2.

PERSIA

HISTORY

There is a popular sketch in P. M. Sykes : *A History of Persia*, 2 vols., 1915, £3, 10s.

G. Rawlinson : *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, III, 1871 (2nd ed.).

G. Maspero : *History of the Ancient Peoples of the Classic East*, Vol. III, S.P.C.K., 21s.

C. Huart : *La Perse Antique et la Civilisation iranienne*, La Renaissance du Livre, Paris, 1925 (with useful bibliography).

There is a very good short account of the Persian Empire in Ed. Meyer's article s.v. *Persia* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed. (and cf. his *Die Entstehung des Juden-*

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tums, Niemeyer, Halle, 1896, and *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1912), and see the articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on the great Persian kings.

A. V. Williams Jackson : *Persia, Past and Present*, Macmillan, New York, 1906, \$4.

M. L. Pillet : *Le Palais de Darius I à Suse*, Geuthner, Paris, 1914.

Hermann Gunkel : *Esther*, Mohr, Tübingen, 1916. M. 1.

For Zoroastrianism (see the notes on pp. 274-5).

J. H. Moulton : *The Treasure of the Magi*, Oxford University Press, 1917, 8s. 6d., and his *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* (one of the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature*) Cambridge University Press, 1911, 2s. 6d., and

A. V. Williams Jackson : *Zoroaster, the prophet of Ancient Iran*, Columbia University Press, 1901, 17s.

For the Greek and Latin sources, Carl Clemen : *Fontes historiæ religionis persicæ*, Bonn, 1920.

The classical edition of the Persian Achæmenid inscriptions is that of P. Weissbach : *Die Keilinschriften der Achæmeniden*, 1911.

GEOGRAPHY

The best atlas is that edited by G. A. Smith : *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1915, 25s.

G. A. Smith : *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1894 (with good maps), 20s.

C. F. Kent : *Biblical Geography and History* (with maps), Smith Elder & Co., 1911, 6s.

Elsworth Huntington : *Palestine and its Transformation*, Constable, 1911, 8s. 6d.

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F. Buhl : *Geographie des alten Palästina*, Mohr, Freiburg, 1896.

For reference cf. Fritz Hommel : *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*. Beck, Munich. This work has just (1926) been completed.

ARCHÆOLOGY, ETC.

R. A. S. Macalister : *A Century of Excavation in Palestine*, R.T.S. [1926], 10s. 6d.

Id. *A History of Civilisation in Palestine* (in the Series *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature*), Cambridge, 4s.

Id. *Bible Sidelights on the Mound of Gezer*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1906, 5s.

C. M. Watson : *Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land. A Record and a Summary, 1865-1915* (Palestine Exploration Fund, 1915).

Père Vincent : *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, Paris 1914.

P. S. P. Handcock : *The Archæology of the Holy Land*, Fisher Unwin, 1916 (out of print).

Id. *The Latest Light on Bible Lands*, S.P.C.K., 1913, 6s.

S. R. Driver : *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible* (= Schweich Lectures, 1908), Milford, 1909, 6s.

G. A. Barton : *Archæology and the Bible*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1917, \$2 (an admirable collection of material), or the corresponding German work.

H. Gressmann : *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament*, Vol. I, Texts; Vol. II, Pictures, Mohr, Tübingen, 1909.

A. Jirku : *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, Deichert, Leipzig, 1923.

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P. Thomsen : *Kompendium der palästinischen Altertumskunde*, Mohr, Tübingen, 1913, M. 4, 80 (bound).

Id. *Palästina und seine Kultur in fünf Jahrtausenden*, Teubner, Leipzig, 1909, M. 1. 25.

G. A. Smith : *Jerusalem, The Topography, Economics and History from the earliest times to A.D. 70*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1907, 2 vols., 20s.

OLD TESTAMENT : CRITICISM

For general Introductions to the Literature of the Old Testament the two best in English are probably

S. R. Driver : *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (many editions), T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh (9th ed., 15s.).

E. Sellin : *Introduction to the Old Testament*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1923, 10s. 6d. (with a valuable bibliography by A. S. Peake), a very interesting work.

Both of these may be found rather difficult by the beginner, and he may prefer to choose

G. Buchanan Gray : *A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament*, Duckworth, 5s.

And for the Pentateuch :

D. C. Simpson : *Pentateuchal Criticism*, Milford, 1924, 6s. 6d., or

A. T. Chapman : *An Introduction to the Pentateuch* (in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools* Series), Cambridge University Press, 1911, 5s.

An excellent statement of the modern critical position is given by

J. B. Harford : *Since Wellhausen : a Brief Survey of Recent Pentateuchal Criticism*, 1926, 2s. This can be obtained from Heffer, Cambridge, or from Blackwell, Oxford. I should like to think that this little book was widely read : its spirit is admirable when contrasted

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with the regrettable tone of such a work as M. Kegel's *Away from Wellhausen*, Murray, 1924.

Cf. Hugh Martin : *The Meaning of the Old Testament*, 4th ed., Student Christian Movement, 1922, 2s. 6d.

For serious study of the books of the Old Testament as historical documents the best English book is probably

H. Creelman : *An Introduction to the Old Testament chronologically arranged*, Macmillan, New York, 1917, 12s.

And for a work on a smaller scale cf.

F. K. Sanders and H. T. Fowler : *Outlines for the Study of Biblical History and Literature*, Smith Elder & Co., 1907, 6s.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF ISRAEL

Out of the many sketches of Israel's religious development it is hard to make a choice. Perhaps the best is by R. Kittel : *The Religion of the People of Israel* (English Translation), Allen & Unwin, 1925, 7s. 6d.

The following single-volume sketches may be mentioned :

Marti : *The Religion of the Old Testament : its place among the Religions of the Nearer East*, Williams & Norgate, 1907, 5s. 6d.

Budde : *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, Putnam, New York and London, 1899, 10s.

G. A. Barton : *The Religion of Israel*, Macmillan, New York, 1918, \$2.

There is a fuller history by

J. P. Peters : *The Religion of the Hebrews*, Ginn & Co., Boston and London, 1914 (with useful bibliography), \$2.75,

and cf. the detailed study by E. Kautzsch in the Extra Volume of *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* under the title

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Religion of Israel, and see the three chapters on religious development in *The People and the Book*, Oxford, 1925, chaps. 7-9. There is a recent work of considerable independence (conservative in tendency) by E. König: *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion*, 2nd ed., Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1915. The latest general treatment known to me is G. Hölscher: *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, Töpelmann, Giessen, 1922. This must be read with caution: many of the author's conclusions are highly questionable.

One monograph may be mentioned:

A. C. Welch: *The Religion of Israel under the Kingdom*, T. & T. Clark, 1912, 10s.

THE PROPHETS

On the *Prophets* there are many general studies. The pioneer work of Robertson Smith (*The Prophets of Israel and their Place in History*, Black, 1882, 7s. 6d.) retains its value. Perhaps the best introductory books for the general reader are A. R. Gordon's *The Prophets of the Old Testament*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1916, 6s. and T. H. Robinson's *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel*, Duckworth, 1923, 5s. (with a valuable bibliography by A. S. Peake); the latter work (over-?) accentuates the ecstatic element in Hebrew prophecy. The latest introduction to the subject is by J. M. Powis Smith: *The Prophets of Israel*, University of Chicago Press, 1925, \$2.25.

There may also be mentioned

L. W. Batten: *The Hebrew Prophet*, Methuen, 1905 (out of print).

W. A. C. Allen: *Old Testament Prophets: a Study in Personality*, Heffer, Cambridge, 1919, 6s.

H. M. Wiener's *The Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism* (Scott, 1923, 5s.) is an able statement of

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the traditional view of prophecy which to me appears untenable.

For the post-exilic prophets cf.

W. H. Bennett : *The Religion of the Post-exilic Prophets*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1907, 8s., and cf.

M. Haller : *Der Ausgang der Prophetie*, Mohr, Tübingen, 1912, 1 mark.

A. Causse : *Israël et la Vision de l'Humanité*, Strasbourg, 1924.

Many students will be interested to read the stimulating little book by N. E. Egerton Swann : *The Hebrew Prophets and the Church*, Oxford University Press, 1917, 2s. 6d.

For Commentaries on individual prophets see Peake's Bibliography in Robinson's book (*supra*) : I should, however, like to mention here Skinner's Commentary on Isaiah (*Cambridge Bible for Schools*, 2 vols.), Skinner's admirable work on Jeremiah, *Prophecy and Religion*, Cambridge University Press, 1922, 12s. 6d., W. F. Lofthouse's *Jeremiah and the New Covenant*, Student Christian Movement, 1925, 6s., and G. A. Smith's Commentary on the Minor Prophets : *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, Hodder & Stoughton, 2 vols., 6s. each.

For the development of religious ideas in Israel cf.

H. Wheeler Robinson : *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament*, Duckworth, 1923, 3s. 6d.

Archibald Duff : *Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews* (in *The Semitic Series*), Nimmo, 1902, 5s.

And especially on the transition from henotheism (or monolatry) to monotheism see

G. Buchanan Gray : *The Divine Discipline of Israel*, Black, 1900, 2s. 6d. ;

(also on the growth of moral ideas in Israel) and the excellent little book of R. A. Aytoun : *God in the Old Testament*, Allen & Unwin, 1922, 6s.

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On a larger scale cf. Edward Pace : *Ideas of God in Israel, their Content and Development*, Allen & Unwin, 1924, 10s. 6d.

And see a lecture by H. Gressmann : *The Development of the Idea of God in the Old Testament*, Friends' Book Centre, Euston Road, N.W.1, 1926, 3d.

I do not know of any satisfactory introduction in the English language to the study of the recent work of foreign scholars on the Psalms : e.g., Mowinckel's important *Psalm-enstudien* [cf. Adolphe Lods : *Recherches récentes sur le Livre des Psaumes. Les idées de M. Mowinckel*, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 91 (1925), pp. 15-34 ; A. Causse in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 3 (1923), pp. 262-8], but two very interesting books on the Psalms have just appeared :

A. C. Welch : *The Psalter in Life, Worship and History*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1926, 5s.

The Psalmists, edited by D. C. Simpson, Oxford University Press, 1926, 7s. 6d., and cf.

G. W. Thorn : *The Heart of Israel : an Approach to the Book of Psalms*, Student Christian Movement, 1925, 2s. 6d.

J. M. P. Smith : *The Religion of the Psalms*, University of Chicago Press, 1922, \$1.75.

But English students of the Psalms should by no means fail to read the book of A. Causse : *Les plus vieux chants de la Bible*, Strasbourg, 1926, and cf. his earlier work *Les "Pauvres" d'Israël*, Strasbourg, 1922.

There are two new versions of the Psalms in English :

W. M. Furneaux : *The Book of Psalms*, Hodder & Stoughton (no date), 6s., and

J. E. M'Fadyen : *The Psalms in Modern Speech and Rhythmical Form*, James Clarke, 1916, 4s. 6d.

Finally mention may be made of two sympathetic studies by H. Wheeler Robinson (both published by the Student

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Christian Movement), *The Cross of Job*, 1916, 1s., and *The Cross of Jeremiah*, 1925, 2s. 6d., and for Jewish Wisdom Literature cf. M. Devine's study *Ecclesiastes, or the Confessions of an Adventurous Soul*, Macmillan, 1916, 4s. 6d.

TRANSLATIONS

Students will remember that Dr Moffatt has now published a translation of the whole of the Old Testament (Hodder & Stoughton), and they may be interested in the series edited by G. C. Martin and T. H. Robinson (published by the National Adult School Union), *Books of the Old Testament in Colloquial Speech*. In this series there have been published: *Amos* (6d.), *Genesis* (1s.), *Jeremiah* (1s. 3d.), *Ruth and Jonah* (9d.), *Joel, Nahum and Obadiah* (9d.), *Hosea* (9d.), and of special value for the historical student *Samuel I and II* (1s. 3d.). Further mention may be made of H. W. Sheppard's translation of *The First Twelve Chapters of the Book of Isaiah*, Bowes & Bowes, Cambridge, 1922, 1s. 6d.

ENCYCLOPÆDIAS

Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th edition.

Encyclopædia Biblica, ed. T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black; A. & C. Black, £4. [Unfortunately many of the historical articles are marred by the intrusion of certain theories which then obsessed Cheyne's mind.]

Dictionary of the Bible, ed. J. Hastings; T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 5 vols., 26s. each.

Dictionary of the Bible in One Volume, ed. J. Hastings; T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 24s.

For the comparative study of religious subjects the student can consult the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*; T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 12 vols., 34s. each.

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My own Bibliography was compiled before I was aware of the publication by the Society for Old Testament Study of *A Scripture Bibliography for the use of Teachers in Secondary Schools and Bible Students*, Nisbet & Co., no date, 6d. This can be usefully consulted, especially for its list of commentaries upon the separate books of the Old Testament (pp. 21-23).

NOTES

(NOTE—Where no place of publication is mentioned, the book was published in London.)

I

THE COMING OF THE SEMITES

1. In this book the term "Semites" is used to signify peoples speaking a Semitic language. Whether the Semites can be regarded as forming ethnologically a single group of peoples is a disputed point : cf. Hilary G. Richardson : *The Semites*, American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, 41 (1924), pp. 1-10. For attempts to determine the characteristic peculiarities common to Semitic peoples cf. e.g., S. A. Cook : *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 1 (1923), chap. v. and G. Levi della Vida : *Storia e Religione nell' Oriente Semitico*, Rome, 1924, pp. 10-42.

2. For the Trojan War cf. W. Leaf : *Troy*, 1912, and *Homer and History*, 1915 ; for the Serbian ballads cf. H. Munro Chadwick : *The Heroic Age*, Cambridge, 1912 ; for the "Minoan" civilisation of Crete in the Bronze Age cf. the little book of C. H. and H. B. Hawes, *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece* (= one of the volumes in Harper's *Library of Living Thought*), 1911.

The Patriarchs. I do not know of any full recent

discussion in English of the character and historical value of the patriarchal narratives. For the view that the Patriarchs were originally gods who have sunk to the level of men cf. Eduard Meyer: *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle, 1906; in general criticism of the view that early gods tend to become human beings cf. W. Leaf: *Homer and History*, 1915, chap. i., and J. A. Scott: *Odysseus as a Sun-God*, *Classical Philology*, 12 (1917), pp. 244-252. Others would regard the Patriarchs as semi-divine Canaanite heroes, later adopted by the Hebrews after the conquest of Canaan; this view has recently been expounded at length by Raymond Weill: *L'installation des Israélites en Palestine et la légende des Patriarches*, *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, 87 (1923), 69-120, 88 (1923), 1-44. Even when the Patriarchs are regarded as human, they may be interpreted as *tribal* personifications, embodying tribal characteristics: "Isaac," "Jacob," etc., are thus parallel to the modern "John Bull," "Fritz," "Uncle Sam"; so H. Gressmann in *Sage und Geschichte in den Patriarchenerzählungen*, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 30 (1910), 1-34, who considers the legends to be primitive (dating from 1300 to 1100 B.C.), but not historical: "there is no history in the desert." For the patriarchal stories as legends of *tribes*, cf. Eissfeldt: *Stammesgeschichte und Novelle in den Geschichten von Jakob und von seinen Söhnen* in *Εὐχαριστήριον* (=Gunkel Festschrift), 1 Teil, Göttingen, 1923, pp. 56-77; but against the view that Jacob is a *tribal* name cf. W. Caspari in *Zeitschrift für Semiotik*, 3, 1924, pp. 201-3. For the literary treatment

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of the stories cf. H. Gunkel : *Das Märchen im Alten Testament*, Tübingen, 1921. There remains the view that the Patriarchs are historical persons about whom legend has grown : the best expression of this view known to me is given by R. Kittel in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 1 (cf. for this purpose particularly the 2nd edition of the work, Gotha, 1912), and that view is my own. Cf. further : Andreas Eberharder : *Die neueren Hypothesen über die hebräischen Patriarchen Abraham, Isaak und Jakob*, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 38 (1914), pp. 656-704 ; Anton Jirku : *Die Hauptprobleme der Anfangsgeschichte Israels* (=Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, ed. Schlatter und Lütgert, vol. 22, Heft 3), Gütersloh, 1918, pp. 25-34. For the comparison of the social conditions as represented in the Biblical account of the life of Abraham with those amongst the tribes of modern Africa, see Marcel Mauss : *Critique interne de la "Légende d'Abraham,"* in *Mélanges offerts à M. Israel Lévi*, etc. (=Revue des Études juives, Tome 82 (1926), Nos. 163-4), pp. 35-44. For a pamphlet on modern views of the stories of the Patriarchs reference may be made to Wilhelm Lotz : *Abraham, Isaak und Jakob* (=Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen, v. Serie, 10 Heft), Berlin, 1910. For a brief classification of the Hebrew legends cf. H. Gressmann : *Die Anfänge Israels*, 2nd ed., Göttingen, 1922, pp. 10-13.

We badly need a broadly based comparative study of oral tradition and its historical value : cf. A. Jirku : *Die älteste Geschichte Israels im Rahmen lehrhafter Darstellungen*, Leipzig, 1917 ; Ad. Lods : *Le Rôle de la Tradition orale dans la formation des*

récits de l'Ancien Testament, Revue de l'histoire des Religions, 88 (1923), pp. 51-64; * and see e.g. L.W. King: *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition* (= Schweich Lectures, 1916), 1918, p. 26, and a note by T. H. Weir on *Arab and Hebrew Prose Writers*, Contemporary Review for September 1907; for the oral preservation of ancient Norse poetry and prayers in Shetland cf. Gilbert Goudie: *The Celtic and Scandinavian Antiquities of Shetland*, Edinburgh, 1904, pp. 73-77 (I owe the reference to my friend Professor Watson); and see W. Ridgeway: *The Value of the Traditions respecting the early Kings of Rome*, Classical Journal, 14 (1919), 371-382. On the confirmation of *Beowulf* by recent excavations in Sweden cf. R. W. Chambers: *England before the Norman Conquest*, 1926, pp. 52 *sqq.* with reference to B. Nerman's *Det Svenska Rikets Uppkomst*, Stockholm, 1925; and cf. his note p. xx, n. 2, on K. Liestöl's unpublished work on local Norwegian traditions.

3. Genesis xi. 31 is attributed to P; J apparently regarded Haran as the birth-place of Abraham, but in support of P the student should consider the implications of E's account; cf. R. Kittel: *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (5th and 6th ed. 1923), I, p. 232, n. 1.

4. Cf. J. H. Breasted: *Ancient Times* (Ginn & Co.), Boston (and London), 1916, pp. 100 *sqq.* The phrases "Fertile Crescent" and "Desert Bay"

* The paper on *The Oral Sources of the Patriarchal Narratives*, American Journal of Theology, 8 (1904), pp. 658-682, is of little service.

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have been criticised by Clay: see *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 44 (1924), pp. 186-201. For a geographical sketch cf. A. T. Olmstead in *The Political Development of Early Babylonia*, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 33 (1917), pp. 283-321.

5. For the early history of Babylonia cf. L. W. King: *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, 1910, and *A History of Babylon*, 1915. Cf. P. Dhorme, *L'Aurore de l'histoire babylonienne*, *Revue Biblique*, 33 (1924), pp. 534-556; 35 (1926), pp. 66-82, 223-239, 534-547.

6. For the early dynasties cf. L. W. King: *Legends of Babylon and Egypt* (see note 1) and C. J. Gadd: *The early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad* (=The Eothen Series I), 1921. See further H. Zimmern: *Die altbabylonischen vor- (und nach-) sintflutlichen Könige nach neuen Quellen*, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, N.F. 3 (1924), pp. 19-35. For the Babylonian antediluvian kings cf. W. F. Albright in *Journal of American Oriental Society*, 43 (1923), 323-329.

7. For accounts of the excavations at Ur cf. *The Antiquaries Journal*, 5 (1925), pp. 1-20, 347-402; 6 (1926), pp. 365-401, and *Illustrated London News* for February 14, April 18, April 25, August 22, 1925 and March 20, 1926, and see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (October 1926), pp. 689-713. Many of the objects excavated are in the British Museum. For the early history of Ur cf. the interesting study

by H. de Genouillac in *Revue Historique*, July-August 1909, pp. 241-271.

8. For Sumerian contacts with India cf. *Illustrated London News* for February 27 and March 6, 1926, and cf. *The Times* for January 13, 1926.

9. It is unnecessary for our present purpose to discuss the precise date of Hammurabi's reign: cf. L. W. King: *A History of Babylon*, 1915, chap. iii.; the later discussions on the dating of the dynasty of Hammurabi are considered in Eduard Meyer: *Die ältere Chronologie Babylonien, Assyriens und Ägyptens*, Stuttgart, 1925, pp. 3 sqq. I am quite incompetent to form any judgment on the astronomical arguments.

10. Cf. Böhl: *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, Leipzig, 1911; S. H. Langdon: *The Habiru and the Hebrews*, Expository Times, 31 (1920), pp. 324-329; A. Jirku: *Die Wanderungen der Hebräer im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (=Der Alte Orient, vol. 24, Heft 2, Leipzig, 1924). It is suggested that in Palestine during the period of the "Judges" there are still traces of the existence of the "*Habiru-Hebrews*"; from them Israel had become clearly differentiated, and they were threatened with absorption either into the body of the Philistines or into Israel. For doubts of the Habiru-Hebrew hypothesis cf. Landersdorfer: *Die Boghazköi-Texte und die Habiru-Frage* (Theologische Quartalschrift, 104 [1923], pp. 75-83 and *Über Name und Ursprung der Hebräer*, *ibid.*, pp. 201-232). D. Opitz [*Zeitschrift*

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für Assyriologie, N.F. 3 (1926), at p. 103] is inclined to regard the appearance of Habiru and Hebrews as "parallele Erscheinungen."

II. *Abraham and Genesis xiv.* The identification of Amraphel with Hammurabi has always been difficult because of the last letter of the Hebrew word—Kittel had even proposed to amend the text—while the date of Abraham on the basis of this identification seemed much too early. Probably any explanation of the chapter must start from Sayce's suggestion that Tidal = the Hittite name Dudhalia : cf. *Expository Times* 1908, p. 283. This was adopted by F. M. Böhl : *Die Könige von Genesis 14*, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 36 (1916), pp. 65-73, who identified Tidal with the Hittite king Dudhalia who reigned in the thirteenth century. Thus would, however, place Abraham too late. But it now appears (see *Boghazkoi-Studien*, Heft 5, Leipzig, 1920, p. 53) that an earlier Dudhalia was the founder of the line of the great Hittite kings of the fourteenth century, and thus Böhl in a second paper (*ibid.*, N. F. 1 [1924], 148-153) identified Tidal with this Dudhalia I. The date of Dudhalia I is at present unknown : Böhl places it c. 1650 B.C. This would appear to me to be too early, and I should prefer to guess that his reign falls early in the fifteenth century ; but I should follow Böhl in identifying Tidal with the king of the Anatolian Hittites, rather than with a king of Carchemish of the fourteenth century, as does Jirku (*ibid.*, 39 [1921], p. 154). Jirku would regard Genesis xiv. as derived from a cuneiform document contemporary

with Abraham preserved in the Jerusalem archives : it is thus a valuable historical source, and not, as some have held, a post-exilic fabrication tending to glorify Abraham (cf. A. Jirku, *ibid.*, 39 [1921], pp. 152-156, 313-314 and *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 56-61). See also A. Jirku : *Die Hauptprobleme der Anfangsgeschichte Israels* (full title in note 2 *supra*), pp. 35-43 ; and cf. further his *Die Wanderungen der Hebräer im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 12, 28-30. (For an attempt to prove that Genesis xiv. is a compilation from two distinct sources cf. I. Benzinger : *Zur Quellenscheidung in Gen. xiv.* in Beiheft 41 of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Giessen, 1925, pp. 21-27). If Abraham is to be dated *c.* 1500 B.C., then the entry into Egypt of the Hebrews in the time of Joseph may be placed about the middle of the fifteenth century, after the conquest of Canaan by Thotmes III in the first half of that century.

12. Cf. A. T. Clay : *The Empire of the Amorites* (=Yale Oriental Series, Researches, vol. 6), Yale University Press, 1919.

13. Of this view the fullest statement is by Leone Caetani : *Studi di storia orientale*, vol. 1, chap. ii., pp. 51-288 (Milan, 1911).

14. Cf. A. T. Clay : *The Origin of Biblical Traditions* (=Yale Oriental Series, Researches, vol. 12), Yale University Press, 1923.

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15. Cf. Arthur Ungnad: *Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen Vorderasiens* (= Kulturfragen, Heft 1), Breslau, 1923.

16. For the story of Sinuhe cf. Flinders Petrie: *Egyptian Tales*, 1 (1895), pp. 97-142. For Nomadism and the Hebrews cf. Ibn Sabil: *Genesis, the Book of the Bedouin*, Church Quarterly Review, No. 199 (1925), pp. 81-95; J. W. Flight: *The Nomadic Idea and Ideal in the Old Testament*, Journal of Biblical Literature, 42 (1923), pp. 158-226; see further Budde: *Das nomadische Ideal im Alten Testament*, Preussische Jahrbuecher, July 1896, pp. 57-79, and A. Causse: *Les "Pauvres" d'Israël*, Strasbourg, 1922, pp. 9-80. For the nomadic ideal in Hosea cf. E. Sellin: *Mose*, etc., Leipzig, 1922, pp. 16-31 and Paul Humbert: *La Logique de la perspective nomade chez Osée et l'unité d'Osée*, 2, 4-22, in Beiheft 41 of the Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Giessen, 1925, pp. 158-166. For the pastoral life and the pride of the shepherd cf. Marcel Mauss: *Critique interne de la Légende d'Abraham* (full citation in note 2 *supra*). Amongst the Hebrews and their cousins of Moab and Edom the pastoral life "est plus qu'un métier: c'est une sorte de foi. Les Hébreux en ont fait une règle et une thèse morale," p. 39. This paper by Mauss is very suggestive. On Nomadism in general all students should read the magnificent chapter by T. Peisker in *Cambridge Medieval History*, I, chap. 12 (A).

17. Cf. Jastrow: *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 642; cf. O. Procksch: *Die Völker Altpalästinas*, Leipzig,

1914. Sayce can boldly write of the Amarna period in Palestine: "the Hittite element was almost as important as the native Canaanite"; cf. his article on *The Tenth Chapter of Genesis*, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 44 (1925), pp. 193-202. Cowley has suggested that the Hivites of the Old Testament are the Achæans of our Greek documents. Sayce would find the home of the Amorites in Asia Minor, and considers that they were closely related to the people of Mitanni (cf. *Ancient Egypt* for September 1924).

18. For the influence of the Babylonian trader cf. Luckenbill: *On Israel's Origins*, *American Journal of Theology*, 22 (1918), pp. 31-34. On Babylonian trade cf. B. Meissner: *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1, chap. 10, Heidelberg, 1920, and Walter Schwenzner: *Das geschäftliche Leben im alten Babylonien nach den Verträgen und Briefen dargestellt* (= *Der alte Orient*, Jahrgang 16, Heft 1, Leipzig, 1916.) See further: C. H. W. Johns: *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters*, Edinburgh, 1904, especially chap. xxvii. on the laws of trade.

19. This was proved by the discovery of the Amarna tablets.

20. Cf. R. Kittel: *The Religion of the People of Israel*, chap. 2 (English Translation), 1925.

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II

EGYPT

For the history of Egypt cf. J. H. Breasted: *A History of Egypt*, 2nd ed. [? 1906], or in the *Cambridge Ancient History*. For the early connections of Egypt with Byblos cf. the summary of recent discoveries given by G. Contenau in *La Civilisation phénicienne*, Paris, 1926, chap. i. For the Asiatic penetration of Egypt and the Eighth Dynasty cf. H. Frankfort: *Egypt and Syria in the First Intermediate Period*, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 12 (1926), pp. 80-99.

1. *The "going down" of the Hebrews into Egypt, the Exodus and the Entry into Canaan.* The dates of all these events are hotly disputed, and certainty is impossible: for all three we can but guess at the chronology. The literature on the subject is very large, and only a small selection of books can be mentioned here. The best general discussions of the evidence are to be found in T. E. Peet: *Egypt and the Old Testament*, Liverpool, 1922 (this tends in my judgment to be hypercritical); H. R. Hall: *Israel and the Surrounding Nations* in *The People and the Book* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 1-30; and J. W. Jack: *The Date of the Exodus* (with good maps), Edinburgh, 1925. See further Flinders Petrie: *Researches in Sinai*, 1906; S. A. Frank Knight: *Nile and Jordan*, 1921, (an invaluable collection of material and references to literature). For the

identification (by Naville) of Pithom with Tell el-Maskûta in the Wady Tumîlât see Naville: *The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus* (Egypt Exploration Society, 1888); for the identification of the city of Ramses (by Petrie) with Tell er-Retâbeh see Petrie: *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 1906, and *Egypt and Israel*, 1911. These identifications have been challenged; cf. Gardiner: *The Delta Residence of the Ramessides*, in *Journal of Egyptian Archæology* 5 (1918), pp. 127 ff., 179 ff., 242 ff. The case for the identification of Pithom proposed by Naville appears to me very strong, cf. Jack: *op. cit.*, pp. 22 sqq., and H. M. Wiener in *Ancient Egypt*, 1923, Part III., pp. 75 sqq. It is possible that there were two Delta residences under the Ramesid Pharaohs: cf. H. M. Wiener, *loc. cit.* The stele of Merenptah which contains the first extra-Biblical reference to "Israel": "Israel is wasted, its seed (?=posterity) is not" (for translation and meaning cf. Jack: *op. cit.*, pp. 225 sqq.) has at times been thought conclusive for the dating of the Exodus: "apparently, *therefore*, we must place the period of the Exodus a little earlier than Merenptah, somewhere in the long reign of Ramses II, who was also the Pharaoh of the oppression" (italics inserted by me), John P. Peters: *Bible and Spade* (=The Bross Lectures 1921), Edinburgh, 1922, p. 37. To those, however, who think, as does the present writer, that only a part of the Israelites went down into Egypt, the evidence of the stele is irrelevant so far as concerns the chronology of the Exodus, for they would not assert that the Patriarchs entered Canaan *after* the reign of Mer-

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enptah. On the other hand I am not convinced by the attempt to refer this mention of Israel directly to the Exodus of the Hebrews (Hanbury Brown: *The Exodus recorded on the stele of Menephtah* in *Journal of Egyptian Archæology* 4 [1917], pp. 16-20; and for an able presentation of this view see S. A. B. Mercer: *Merenptah's Israel and the Exodus*, *Anglican Theological Review* 5 [1922], pp. 96-107), nor by the attempt to deny the fact of a Syrian campaign of Merenptah (cf. E. Naville, *Did Menephtah invade Syria?* *ibid.* 2. [1915], 195-201). On the stele cf. Jack: *op. cit.*, chap. xii., J. S. Griffiths: *The Exodus in the Light of Archæology*, 1923, pp. 48 *sqq.*

For the study of modern theories a few references may be useful: H. R. Hall has consistently argued for the identification of the expulsion of the Hyksos with the Exodus of the Hebrews [for the theory of a close relation between Hyksos and Hebrews cf. Max Pieper: *Zum Hyksos-Problem*, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 28 (1925), coll. 417-419, and for a contrary view A. Mallon: *Les Hyksos et les Hébreux*, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 4 (1925), pp. 85-91]; for the Exodus under Amenhotep II. (c. 1445 B.C.) cf. Welch in *The People and the Book*, Oxford, 1925, p. 124; Knight: *op. cit.*, chap. xiii.; Jack: *op. cit.*, chap. xv. and cf. W. M. Flinders Petrie: *Israel in Egypt*, the *Menorah Journal*, 8 (1922), pp. 197-209, at pp. 198-200; the Exodus in the reign of Tutankhamen cf. L. Eckenstein: *A History of Sinai*, 1921, p. 66; similarly—the Israelites wishing to join the Habiru in Palestine—Weigall: *Tutankhamen and other Essays*, 1923, pp. 80 *sqq.*; Exodus under Ramses II, cf. Peters: *Bible and Spade*

(quoted *supra* in this note). For a recent defence of the traditional view—Exodus under Merenptah—cf. C. F. Burney: *Israel's Settlement in Canaan. The Biblical Tradition and its Historical Background* (=Schweich Lectures 1917), 1918, and Petrie in many works, e.g., *Egypt and Israel*, 1911: cf. H. M. Wiener in *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July 1916 and October 1917 (Oberlin, Ohio); J. S. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, in his defence of the same position appears to me quite uncritical in many of his arguments. The view of Eerdmans that both entry into Egypt and Exodus occurred under one of the later Ramesids has found no supporters, though very recently P. Riessler has maintained that the Hebrews *entered* Egypt and were settled in Goshen under Merenptah, that Ramses III was the Pharaoh of the oppression and Ramses IV the Pharaoh of the Exodus (c. 1160); see his articles *Zur Chronologie des Alten Testaments*, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 104 (1923), pp. 1-19, 156-170; 105 (1924), 1-30 at pp. 18-24.

It would seem that both Jack and Griffiths think that they have *proved* their respective views: that is, in my judgment, an illusion. We cannot on our present evidence advance beyond more or less probable hypotheses.

For the Hebrews in Egypt cf. A. Mallon: *Les Hébreux en Égypte*, Pontificio Istituto biblico, Rome, 1921.

2. "The restoration is exceedingly uncertain, but something similar must be supplied." (Breasted.)

3. Cf. J. H. Breasted: *Ancient (Records) of Egypt*, 3 (University of Chicago Press, 1906), pp. 6-8.

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4. Cf. J. H. Breasted : *Ancient Records*, etc. (see note 3), 3, 272-3 ; Driver : *Exodus* (in the Cambridge Bible for Schools), pp. xxxvii.-xxxviii. ; Breasted : *History of Egypt*, 2nd ed., p. 447.
5. For references cf. §I n. 10 (p. 195).
6. Cf. Petrie : *Yale Review*, Oct. 1923, p. 25.
7. Cf. A. H. Sayce : *The Early History of the Hebrews*, 1897, p. 153 ; and *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, 8th ed., 1915, pp. 249-250.
8. But for the restricted meaning of the term "stranger" = a person of another tribe or nation settled in Israel and enjoying certain privileges and rights of protection—no mere foreigner—cf. G. Buchanan Gray : *The Divine Discipline of Israel*, 1900, pp. 48-51, 56-58 ; C. Ryder Smith : *The Bible Doctrine of Society*, etc., Edinburgh, 1920 (see ref. in the index under the headings *Alien* and *Gerim*). See further A. Bertholet : *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, Freiburg, 1896, pp. 21-78. I have not seen J. Nikel's *Das Alte Testament und die Nächstenliebe* (= *Biblische Zeitfragen*, Folge vi, Heft 11-12), 1913.
9. For a recent instance of the denial of the historicity of the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt cf. P. Jensen : *Israel in Ägypten?* (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1925, coll. 420-424).

III

BABYLONIA AND THE HEBREW LAW

1. Cf. C. F. Burney: *Israel's Settlement in Canaan* (=Schweich Lectures 1917), 1918.

2. *Moses*. No adequate recent English monograph on Moses is known to me. Eduard Meyer's view that Moses as represented in Hebrew tradition is a mythical figure (cf. *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle, 1906, pp. 72 *sqq.*) is the product of a scepticism which overreached itself; the historical figure of the founder of Israel's religion and Israel's law cannot be thus eliminated. Neither can the theophany of Sinai and the legislation connected with Sinai be struck out as a later insertion in favour of the "case law" of Kadesh (so Georg Beer: *Mose und sein Werk*, Giessen, 1912). Beer has also failed to realise that the Hebrews had left the nomadic life of the wilderness *before* they entered Canaan, and that therefore the presence of laws in the Book of the Covenant which imply agricultural conditions does not necessarily exclude a Mosaic origin. Beer's picture of Moses as miracle worker and "medicine man" appears to me quite inadequate, while Luckenbill's attempt (*On Israel's Origins*, American Journal of Theology, 22 [1918], pp. 24-53) to substitute Joshua for Moses as Israel's lawgiver is, in my judgment, misconceived. The same criticism applies to Leroy Waterman's paper

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Pre-Israelite Laws in the Book of the Covenant, The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, 38 (1921), pp. 36-54. I share the view which is steadily gaining ground that there is no sufficient reason to deny the Mosaic origin of an early form of the Decalogue, cf. J. E. McFadyen: *The Mosaic Origin of the Decalogue*, Expositor, 8th Series, 11 (1916), pp. 152-160, 222-231, 311-320, 384-400; 12 (1916), pp. 37-59, 105-117, 210-221; W. F. Loft-house in *The People and the Book* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 225-238; and see Hans Schmidt: *Mose und der Dekalog*, *Εὐχαριστήριον* (=Gunkel Festschrift), 1, Göttingen, 1923, pp. 78-119. For recent expressions of a contrary view cf. (i) W. Nowack: *Der erste Dekalog* in Baudissin Festschrift, 33 Beiheft to Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1918, pp. 381-397 (Decalogue a product of the seventh century and influenced by the prophetic movement, but cf. E. Sellin: *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, 1, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 82-84); (ii) A. V. Brown: *The Decalogue: its origin and Structure*, Queen's Quarterly, 26 (1919 April-June), pp. 402-419. The book of Canon Charles is mainly concerned with the *interpretation* of the Decalogue in later times, but cf. the *Introduction* to his work [R. H. Charles: *The Decalogue* (=The Warburton Lectures 1919-1923), Edinburgh, 1923]. On the successive editions of Israel's laws cf. W. F. Loft-house: *The Mosaic Codes and Popular Hebrew Tradition*, Expositor, 8th Series, 11 (1916), pp. 66-80. On the much discussed question of the relation of Kadesh to Sinai the best study known to me is that of Johannes Meinhold in his very sug-

gestive paper *Zur Frage der Kultuszentralisation* = 27 Beiheft of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1914), pp. 299-315; see further the references in J. Pedersen: *Israel, its Life and Culture*, 1926, pp. 501-2. On the religion of Moses see R. Kittel: *The Religion of the People of Israel* (English Translation 1925), pp. 49-64, and W. F. Lofthouse in *The People and the Book* (quoted earlier in this note), together with E. Sellin: *op. cit.*, pp. 78-94 (with valuable bibliography). The question whether Moses was a monotheist would appear to me unanswerable [for a confident affirmative answer cf. H. M. Wiener *The Religion of Moses*, Oberlin, Ohio, 1919 = a reprint from *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July 1919, pp. 323-358; cf. *ibid.*, 64 (1907), pp. 609-637]: was Akhnaton a monotheist? I should find it difficult to share the certainty of S. A. B. Mercer (*Was Ikhnaton a Monotheist?* *Journal of Society of Oriental Research*, 3 [1919], pp. 70-80), who concludes: "Ikhnaton was not a monotheist, but he was a clever and self-centred individual henotheist." It would certainly seem more probable that in the thought of Moses Jehovah was *for Israel* the only God, rather than that Jehovah was for him the sole and only God absolutely (cf. the note in *American Journal of Theology*, 12 [1908], pp. 444 *sqq.* and see next note). The literary analysis of the Moses stories in H. Gressmann's *Mose und seine Zeit*, Göttingen, 1913 (cf. his treatment of the Joseph stories *Ursprung und Entwicklung der Joseph-Sage*, *Εὐχαριστήριον* [see *supra*], I, pp. 1-55), is highly subjective and appears to me to lead to questionable conclusions. E. Sellin's re-

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volutionary work *Mose und seine Bedeutung für die israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1922, is a very stimulating book, even if it be difficult to follow the author in his historical reconstruction.

3. It is certain that for the Hebrews of the period of the Judges and of the early Monarchy the gods of the heathen were real powers: to me it would appear that the author of the account of Elijah's victory over the prophets of Baal on Carmel had already, at least implicitly, transcended henotheism, but this view would probably not be generally admitted: cf. Edward Pace: *Ideas of God in Israel*, 1924, p. 211. For the transition from monolatry to monotheism cf. G. Buchanan Gray: *The Divine Discipline of Israel*, 1900, pp. 9-31; R. A. Aytoun: *God in the Old Testament*, 1922, pp. 49-61; H. Wheeler Robinson: *The Religious ideas of the Old Testament*, 1923, pp. 54-60. Cf. A. Causse: "La foi au Dieu unique était dans la logique du prophétisme . . . Mais c'est seulement dans les poèmes deutéro-ésaïaques que les suprêmes conséquences de la prédication prophétique sont exprimées et que le monothéisme arrive à son expression la plus absolue." *Israël et la Vision de l'Humanité*, Strasbourg, 1924, p. 41. It is easy to forget that "the language of monolatry is frequently indistinguishable from that of monotheism," cf. T. H. Robinson: *The God of the Psalmists in The Psalmists*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 25-28. See further W. L. Wardle: *The Origins of Hebrew Monotheism*, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*,

N. F. 2 (1925) pp. 193-209. The suggestion that Hebrew monotheism was the result of the conflict with Assyria [so Powis Smith in *Journal of Religion*, 6 (1926), pp. 421-2] does not appear to me to be well founded, but the remarks of Powis Smith upon the effect of the division of the Hebrew kingdom in breaking down the conception of Jehovah as a purely national deity should be noted: see his article *Religion and War in Israel*. *American Journal of Theology*, 19 (1915). pp. 17-31. Yet, whether the Hebrew faith were henotheism or monotheism, the fact remains that it was not polytheism: in the words of Max Löhr: "Der fundamentalste Unterschied zwischen Israel und den übrigen Völkern der altorientalischen Welt ruht kurz gesagt in Israels Gottesanschauung. Sein Gott ist einer. Israel kennt kein systematisch geordnetes Pantheon, kein Heer von Göttern und Göttinnen." The student should read his interesting essay *Israel und die Kultur des alten Vorderasien* in *Der Morgen*, 1 (1926), pp. 625-637.

4. On the inseparable connection between the ark and its tent-shrine cf. Johannes Meinhold: *Zur Frage der Kultuszentralisation*. (See note 2). I have not seen the article by L. Dürr: *Ursprung und Bedeutung der Bundeslade*, *Bonner Zeitschrift für Theologie und Seelsorge*, 1 (1924), pp. 17-32.

5. For an attempt to prove that in the patriarchal stories there are traces of specifically Babylonian—as distinguished from later Hebrew—

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law, cf. I. Benzinger : *Wie wurden die Juden das Volk des Gesetzes ?* (= Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher, 2 Reihe, 15 Heft) Tübingen, 1908, pp. 9-10.

6. A fragment of a Sumerian code of laws has been published by Prof. Clay : *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, 1915. For a summary of the contents of this fragment and of other fragments of Sumerian legislation cf. Langdon : *The Sumerian Law Code compared with the Code of Hammurabi*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1920, pp. 489 *sqq.* Cf. Scheil : *Fragments d'un Code Pré-Hammourabien en Rédaction sumérienne*, Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale, 17 (1920), pp. 35-43, and A. David : *Les Sources du Code de Hammurapi*, *ibid.*, 20 (1922), pp. 13-34. King had already adduced the reforms of Urukagina and the laws referred to by that Sumerian king as "definite proof, not only that Hammurabi codified the legislation of earlier times, but also that this legislation itself was of Sumerian origin," see L. W. King : *A History of Sumer and Accad*, 1910, pp. 178-185. A translation of the Hammurabi Code will be found in George A. Barton : *Archæology and the Bible*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1917, pp. 313-341, where it is compared with the legislation of the Pentateuch. A translation by Percy Handcock is published separately as No. 15 of the *Texts for Students* issued by the S.P.C.K. (Is.). The relation of the Hammurabi Code to the Hebrew legislation is discussed in C. H. W. Johns : *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples* (= Schweich Lectures 1912), 2nd ed., 1917; the

attempt there made to establish the *direct* dependence of Hebrew legislation upon the Babylonian code is, in my judgment, unconvincing. For purposes of comparison the Hittite legislation should also be studied: cf. Frédéric Hrozný: *Code hittite provenant de l'Asie Mineure* (vers 1350 av. J.C.), 1^{re} Partie, Geuthner, Paris, 1922; and see Johannes Friedrich and Heinrich Zimmern: *Hethitische Gesetze aus dem Staatsarchiv von Boghazkoi* (um 1300 v. Chr.) (=Der alte Orient. Jahrgang 23, Heft 2), Leipzig, 1922. For the relation between these laws and Babylonian codes cf. C. F. Burney in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 26 (July 1925), pp. 438-442. On the Hittite code and its comparison with Hebrew legislation cf. the article by L. Aubert in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses* (Strasbourg), 4 (1924), pp. 352-370; and see further B. Meissner: *Hethiter und hethitische Gesetzgebung*, Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 1923, 55-64. For early Assyrian Laws cf. the fragments of an Assyrian code translated by V. Scheil: *Recueil de lois assyriennes*, Paris, 1921 and by M. Jastrow: *An Assyrian Law Code*, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 1921, pp. 1-59. Corrections of Jastrow's translation are given in *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, 6 (1922), pp. 17-20. See further H. Ehelolf: *Ein altassyrisches Rechtsbuch . . . mit einer rechtsgeschichtlichen Einleitung von Paul Koschaker*, Mitteilungen aus der Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Heft 1, Berlin, 1922; Éd. Cuq: *Un Recueil de lois assyriennes*, Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale, 19 (1922), pp. 45-65; K. Tallquist: *Old Assyrian Laws*,

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Helsingfors, 1921 (= Finska Vetenskaps Societetens Förhandlingar, 63, Avd. B., No. 3). For the character of this compilation cf. Paul Koschaker: *Quellenkritische Untersuchungen zu den altassyrischen Gesetzen*, Leipzig, 1921. See also Cruveilhier, *Recueil de lois assyriennes. Traduction annotée—Étude—Comparaison*, Le Muséon (Louvain), 38 (1925), pp. 189-242; G. Furlani: *Frammenti di leggi assire*, Rivista degli Studi orientali, 10, Fasc. 1 (1923), pp. 110-139 (an Italian translation); *id.*: *Recenti pubblicazioni sulla Raccolta di leggi assire*, *ibid.*, 9, Fasc. 4 (1923), pp. 496-511 (a review of recent work); and *id.* *Leggi assire Art. 15 e leggi hittite art. 197-8*, *ibid.*, 10, Fasc. ii-iii (1924), pp. 293-314: comparison with the Code of Hammurabi and Deuteronomy xxii. 22-29 (adultery); Furlani concludes "Da questo esame comparativo risulterà evidentissima la stretta parentela tra la legislazione assira, hittita e mosaica." There is a useful paper which takes into account much of this new evidence by Samuel A. B. Mercer: *New Evidence on the Origin of Israel's Laws*, Anglican Theological Review (Columbia University Press), 4 (March 1922), pp. 314-324; and cf. J. Pedersen: *Israel, its Life and Culture*, 1926 (see the Index at p. 564 s.v. *Laws*, and pp. 547-552); for parallelisms in the form of laws cf. M. Löhr: *Das Deuteronomium*, Berlin, 1925, pp. 198 f. I have not yet seen A. F. Puukko's paper *Die altassyrischen und hethitischen Gesetze und das Alte Testament*, Studia Orientalia, 1 (1925), pp. 125-166 (published by the Societas orientalis fennica). See further H. F. Jolowicz: *The Assessment of Penalties in Primitive Law*, in Cambridge Legal Essays,

Cambridge, 1926, pp. 203-222, and for the study of the Hebrew law-codes cf. Roger Sherman Galer : *Old Testament Law for Bible Students : Classified and Arranged as in Modern Legal Systems*, New York, Macmillan, 1922. For Justice as a divine attribute in the primitive Semitic conception of God cf. Baudissin : *Der gerechte Gott in altsemitischer Religion* in the Harnack Festgabe, Tübingen, 1921, pp. 1-23, and for the Sun-God as inspirer of Hammurabi's legislation cf. F. Cumont : *Il Sole vendice dei delitti*, etc., in *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia, Serie III, Memorie*, vol. 1, parte 1, Roma, 1923, pp. 65-80 at pp. 66-67.

IV

CANAAN

1. So H. R. Hall consistently, *e.g.* in *Ancient History of the Near East* (many editions) ; and cf. *The People and the Book*, Oxford, 1925, chap. i.

2. Cf. T. S. Meek : *A proposed Reconstruction of Early Hebrew History*, *American Journal of Theology*, 24 (1920), pp. 209-216.

3. Cf. note 1 of §11.

4. For the military operations of the reign of Ramses III and the date of the battle of Pelusium,

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see J. L. Myres and K. T. Frost: *The Historical Background of the Trojan War*, Klio (Leipzig), 14 (1915), pp. 447-467.

5. The seated statue of Ramses III recently discovered at Beth-Shean (Beisan) is the latest memorial of the Ramesid Pharaohs yet found in Palestine (see reports in the *Museum Journal* of the University of Pennsylvania, *Illustrated London News*, December 26, 1925, R. A. S. Macalister: *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* [1926], pp. 73-4, 169-170). "Ramses III was, indeed, the last really great king of Egypt" (Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 169).

6. Cf. R. A. S. Macalister: *The Philistines. Their History and Civilisation* (=Schweich Lectures, 1911), 1913, pp. 29-37 (c. 1110 B.C.).

7. Cf. C. F. Burney: *Israel's Settlement in Canaan* (=Schweich Lectures, 1917), 1918, and his *The Book of Judges*, 1918. See further for the period of the settlement in Palestine, L. Desnoyers: *Histoire du Peuple hébreu des Juges à la Captivité*, Tome I. *La Période des Juges*, Paris, 1922.

8. Sellin has suggested that reminiscences from the earlier invasion of the Habiru have been introduced into the record of the Hebrew conquest: cf. E. Sellin: *Gilgal. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Einwanderung Israels in Palästina*, Leipzig, 1917.

9. For the dating from archæological evidence of the capture of Jericho by the Hebrews note care-

fully E. Sellin's very important correction of his former view in *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, I, Leipzig, 1924, p. 97; the stone wall of the city would have fallen c. 1100 B.C. Unfortunately his colleague in the excavation of Jericho, C. Watzinger, is of a different opinion; he would place the destruction of the fortress shortly after 1600 B.C.: thus in Joshua's day "Jericho was only a heap of ruins on which perhaps scattered huts were still standing"; cf. C. Watzinger: *Zur Chronologie der Schichten von Jericho*, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, N.F. 5 (1926), 131-136.

10. For the song, cf. E. G. King: *Early Religious Poetry of the Hebrews* (=one of the Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature), Cambridge, 1911, pp. 6-14, and A. Causse: *Les plus vieux Chants de la Bible*, Paris, 1926, pp. 46-59. On the Battle of Taanach cf. Paul Haupt: *Die Schlacht von Taanach* in 27th Beiheft of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Giessen, 1914, pp. 191-225 and Burney's commentary in *The Book of Judges*, 1918.

11. W. Robertson Smith: *The Prophets of Israel*, Edinburgh, 1882, p. 39.

12. On early Canaanite religion there is a large literature; a few references only can be given: cf. R. Kittel: *The Religion of the People of Israel* (English Translation, 1925), chaps. i. and iii.; S. A.

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Cook: *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the second millennium B.C. in the light of Archæology and the Inscriptions* (in Constable's series of short manuals on *Religions Ancient and Modern*), 1908; E. Sellin: *Geschichte*, etc. (see note 9 *supra*), I, pp. 121-139. W. Robertson Smith's *The Religion of the Semites*, 1894, remains of permanent value, and since comparison with modern religious usage is instructive, see S. I. Curtiss: *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, 1902. In *The People and the Book*, Oxford, 1925, two papers should be read: S. A. Cook's *The Religious Environment of Israel* (pp. 41-72) and W. F. Lofthouse's study of *Hebrew Religion from Moses to Saul* (pp. 221-253). For the archæological evidence cf. R. A. S. Macalister's *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* [1926], chap. v., while, in my judgment, all students should read J. Skinner's chapter on *The Two Religions of Israel* (= *Prophecy and Religion*, Cambridge, 1922, chap. iv.), from which I have freely borrowed in the text. For sacrifice as a Canaanite rite cf. R. Dussaud: *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite*, Paris, 1921, and cf. A. Lods: *Examen de quelques hypothèses sur les origines du sacrifice*, *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, I (1921), pp. 483-506 on Loisy's *Essai historique sur le sacrifice*, Paris, 1920.

This is not the place to discuss whether sacrifice had indeed no place in the worship of the wilderness wandering: cf. *e.g.*, Amos v. 21-5; Hosea vi. 4-6; Jeremiah vii. 21 f: see I. Logan: in *Expositor*, Series 9, Vol. III. (1925), pp. 62-65. For the prophetic view of sacrifice cf. G. Buchanan Gray: *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1925, pp. 41-45.

13. For the material civilisation of Canaan cf. R. A. S. Macalister, *op. cit.* (see note 12 *supra*), chap. iv. and his *A History of Civilisation in Palestine* (=one of the Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature), Cambridge, 1912. See further P. S. P. Handcock: *The Archæology of the Holy Land*, 1916, and Peter Thomsen: *Kompendium der palästinischen Altertumskunde*, Tübingen, 1913. The Hebrew conquest appears to have resulted in a general set-back for the material culture of Palestine: "The contents of the strata of accumulation indicate that at this time there was a sudden collapse of Palestinian culture. Never very high, it had attained to a respectable elevation just before. But now it does not decline; it smashes. As a result of the Israelite settlement in Canaan, the civilisation of the country, such as it was, was effaced, and had to be painfully built up again with the help of the cultured Philistines." Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* [1926], p. 164. For the rebuilding of Canaanite cities under Solomon cf. A. Causse: *Les "Pauvres" d'Israel*, Strasbourg, 1922, p. 28. For the material culture of Israel cf. further Ad. Reifenberg: *Architektur und Kunstgewerbe im alten Israel*, Vienna, 1925.

14. For the legends of Babylonia and those of the Hebrews see the translations of Babylonian parallels in G. A. Barton: *Archæology and the Bible*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1917, pp. 235 *sqq.* and cf. L. W. King: *Legends of Babylonia and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition* (=Schweich Lectures 1916), 1918; on the Epic of Creation cf. G. R.

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Driver in *Theology*, 8 (1924), pp. 2-13, and for the Flood stories cf. P. Handcock: *Babylonian Flood Stories* (=Texts for Students, No. 24, S.P.C.K.). See M. Jastrow: *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions* (=Haskell Lectures 1913), 1914. For a supposed Sumerian original of the Paradise myth cf. P. M. Witzel: *Angebliche sumerische Parallelen zur biblischen Urgeschichte*, Theologische Quartalsschrift, 100 (1919), pp. 199-224; while leaving open the question of a Sumerian original, Gressmann considers it certain that the myth was borrowed by the Hebrews in the second millennium from Assyria through Amorite mediation, cf. Hugo Gressmann: *Die Paradiessage* in the Harnack Festgabe, Tübingen, 1921, pp. 24-42. For the common origin of Babylonian and Hebrew traditions cf. Albert T. Clay: *The Origin of Biblical Traditions. Hebrew Legends in Babylonia and Israel* (=Yale Oriental Series, Researches, vol. 12), Yale University Press, 1923. The best general introduction to the subject is W. L. Wardle's *Israel and Babylon*, 1925. There is a useful collection and translation of the Babylonian material in A. Jirku: *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, Leipzig, 1923. A new edition is announced of R. W. Rogers: *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, (translated), 1912. A sympathetic study of the early traditions as preserved by the Jehovist (Jahvist) writer in Genesis will be found in Eric S. Robertson's *The Bible's Prose Epic of Eve and her Sons*, 1916.

One of the most interesting unsolved historical problems is that of a possible early Semitic influence on Sumerian civilisation.

15. The problem of the origin of the Semitic script is at present a subject of active discussion: it is far too complex a matter to admit of any statement here. Attempted "translations" of the Sinai inscriptions must be regarded as highly conjectural. It will suffice to refer to two papers published in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, Vol. III. (1916): A. H. Gardiner: *The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet*, pp. 1-16, and A. E. Cowley: *The Origin of the Semitic Alphabet*, pp. 17-21. The later specialist literature (for references cf. D. Völter: *Die althebräischen Inschriften vom Sinai und ihre historische Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 8 *sqq.* and *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1925, coll. 309 *sqq.*) cannot be fully cited here. On the whole question cf. Kurt Sethe: *Der Ursprung des Alphabets. Die neuentdeckte Sinaischrift. Zwei Abhandlungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte unserer Schrift*, Berlin, 1926. For a criticism of the views of Grimme, which have received wide publicity in the English press, cf. G. Furlani: *Yahu Sapdu e una presunta iscrizione di Mose*, *Giornale della società asiatica italiana*, N.S. I (1925-6), pp. 1-22, and J. Schaumberger: *Die angeblichen mosaischen Inschriften von Sinai*, *Biblica* (Rome), 6 (1925), pp. 26-49, 156-164, 465; J. M. Powis Smith in *Journal of Religion*, 6 (1926), pp. 195-200, 297-300. The latest discussions can be found in Hubert Grimme's *Die Lösung des Sinai-problems*, Münster, 1926, and his article in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, N.F. 5 (1926), pp. 137-150 and in K. Sethe's replies, *ibid.*, pp. 24-54 and 151-3. For the general subject of writing in the ancient world cf. the valuable

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summary in Jirku, *op. cit.* (see note 14 *supra*), pp. 141-144, and see R. A. S. Macalister, *op. cit.* (see note 5 *supra*) pp. 246-253. For a Phœnician inscription apparently of the thirteenth century B.C. see the publication by R. Dussaud in *Syria* 5 (1924), pp. 135-157 (and cf. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1925, coll. 129-140); another translation in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. 1 (1924), pp. 349-50. It need no longer be assumed that Moses was ignorant of the art of writing, and the conjecture of Naville that the laws of Moses were written in cuneiform script (cf. E. Naville: *The Law of Moses*, 1922) now seems unnecessary. He would be a bold man who would affirm dogmatically, as does R. H. Pfeiffer [*The Oldest Decalogue*, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 43 (1924), pp. 294-310, at p. 308], "Israel had no written laws until it came to Shechem."

16. On the worship at Shechem cf., however, H. M. Wiener's conservative criticism of modern views in his article *Baal Shechem and the Text of Joshua xxiv.*, *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Oberlin), 73 (Oct. 1916), pp. 609-619. Of the excavation by Professor Sellin of the temple of Baal at Shechem I have not yet seen any full account, but cf. *The Observer* of August 29, 1926, and see F. M. Th. Böhl: *De Geschiedenis der stad Sichem en de opgravingen aldaar* (illustrated), in *Mededeelingen der kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen, afdeeling Letterkunde*, Deel 62, Serie B, No. 1, Amsterdam, 1926.

V

THE PHILISTINES

1. Cf. Amos ix, 7; Deut. ii. 23; Jeremiah xlvi. 4. The gloss in Genesis x. 14 "whence proceeded the Philistines" was probably originally attached to Caphtorim, not, as at present to Casluhim. Cf. Moore, *Enc. Bibl.* 3715 n. 1. For the Philistines the best general treatment is that of R. A. S. Macalister: *The Philistines: Their History and Civilisation* (=Schweich Lectures 1911), 1913, and see the article by G. F. Moore in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (with bibliography). For Philistine pottery cf. E. Saussey: *La céramique philistine*, Syria, 5 (1924), pp. 169-185. For a recent discussion of *The Sites of Ekron, Gath and Libnah* see the article of W. F. Albright in *The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem*, Vols. II. and III. (1923), pp. 1-17.

2. Cf. H. R. Hall in *The People and the Book*, Oxford, 1925, pp. 24 *sqq.*, who points out that the Philistines *as a whole* can hardly be Minoan Cretans, for their dress, as depicted on the Egyptian monuments, is quite different from that of the Keftiu, who are undoubtedly "Minoans." For the comparison of the Egyptian word Keftiu with the Hebrew Caphtor, cf. R. A. S. Macalister: *The Philistines*, pp. 13-14.

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3. "Whether they came from Crete or via Crete from the Anatolian mainland, these Philistines introduced into South Syria a sub-Mycenæan culture which at once invites comparison with Cyprus." Cf. C. Leonard Woolley: *Asia Minor, Syria and the Ægean*, Annals of Archæology and Anthropology, 9 (Liverpool University Press, 1922), pp. 41-56, at p. 50.

4. Cf. R. A. S. Macalister, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 96 *sqq.*

5. Cf. H. R. Hall: *The Peoples of the Sea*, in Fasc. 234 of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Paris, Champion, 1922 (=Champollion Festschrift), pp. 297-329 at pp. 313-314, and in *The People and the Book* (Oxford 1925), pp. 24 *sqq.*

6. Cf. Macalister: *op. cit.*, p. 38.

7. In the older historical books of the Old Testament (Judges, Samuel) this opprobrious epithet is applied only to the Philistines, and is repeatedly used as a self-evident equivalent of Philistia. Cf. Moore in *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 3717 *med.*

8. Cf. Alan H. Gardiner: *The ancient military road between Egypt and Palestine*, Journal of Egyptian Archæology, 6 (1920), pp. 99-116, with sketch-map of territory between Egypt and Palestine; and cf. S. Klein: *Die Küstenstrasse Palästinas*, Scripta Universitatis atque Bibliothecæ Hierosolymitanarum: Orientalia et Judaica, I. (1923), 1, where an

attempt is made to establish the stations on the road from references in the Mischna and the Talmud.

9. Cf. 1 Samuel xiii. 5; 2 Samuel i. 6, Macalister : *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

10. Cf. R. A. S. Macalister : *A History of Civilisation in Palestine* (in the Series Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature), Cambridge, 1912; pp. 116-117.

11. On 1 Samuel xiii. 19-22 cf. R. A. S. Macalister : *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* (1926), pp. 165-169. The Philistines prevent the Hebrews, still using bronze weapons, from procuring the new iron weapons.

12. Since Eli was the great-great-grandfather of Abiathar, the companion of David, while Eli's grandson Ichabod was born immediately after the catastrophe, it may be concluded that the battle should be placed about 1080 B.C.

13. Cf. R. A. S. Macalister : *The Philistines*, pp. 47-48.

14. For the psychology of the defeat, cf. the battle of the Frigidus (A.D. 394) where once again the God of storm routed the heathen : see Norman H. Baynes in *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. I. p. 247.

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15. For recent excavations see *Illustrated London News* for December 26, 1925 and *The Times* of August 16, 1926; and for the Philistine occupation of Bethshean cf. *The Times* of July 19, 1926.

16. I cannot follow W. Caspari in his view of the discontinuity between Saul's kingdom and that of Eshbaal: cf. his *Tronbesteigungen und Tronfolge der israelitischen Könige* (= *Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen* ed. B. Meissner, I, 3), Leiden 1917, pp. 192-3.

17. On this fly-oracle cf. Macalister: *The Philistines*, pp. 92-93.

VI

THE UNITED MONARCHY

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

I know no adequate modern treatment by any English scholar of the period of the united Hebrew monarchy. The best general sketch is perhaps that of G. Beer: *Saul, David und Salomo* (Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher, 2te Reihe, Heft 7), Tübingen, 1906. I am not here concerned with the details of the biography of David (cf. the suggestive article *David*, by S. A. Cook, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition), nor with the domestic history of the reign: for the revolts against David's

rule and in particular for the rebellion of Absalom cf. the valuable study of W. Caspari: *Aufkommen und Krise des israelitischen Königtums unter David*, Berlin, 1909. For a bibliography of modern work on David see the pamphlet of Ulrich Molsen: *David als religiöser und sittlicher Charakter*, Leipzig, 1917. There is a monograph on David by Marcel Dieulafoy: *David the King*, 1902. See further W. Caspari: *Tronbesteigungen und Tronfolge der israelitischen Könige* (= Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen, I, 3), Leiden, 1917, and Procksch: *Der Schauplatz der Geschichte Davids*, Palästinajahrbuch, 5 (1909), pp. 58-80.

1. Cf. Hermann Gunkel: *Israelitisches Heldentum und Kriegsfrömmigkeit im Alten Testament*, Göttingen, 1916, and see J. M. Powis Smith: *Religion and War in Israel*, American Journal of Theology, 19 (1915), pp. 17-31.

2. Ecstasy as a permanent element in Old Testament prophecy has been accentuated, perhaps over-accentuated, in recent work: cf. Hermann Gunkel: *The Secret Experiences of the Prophets*. The Expositor, 9th Series 1 (May, 1924), 356-366, (June), 427-435, 2 (July 1924), 23-32; T. H. Robinson: *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel*, London, 1925; and see H. Gressmann: *The Sources of Israel's Messianic Hope*, American Journal of Theology, 17 (1913), pp. 173-194 at pp. 173-178. For a consideration of the views of Gunkel, Gressmann and Hölscher (cf. Hölscher: *Die Profeten*, Leipzig, 1914, chap. 1-3), cf. L. P. Horst: *L'Exstase*

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chez les prophètes d'Israel, etc., *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 2 (1922), pp. 337-348, and note the salutary qualifications of A. Causse: *Quelques remarques sur la psychologie des prophètes*, *ibid.*, pp. 349-356; with this article cf. Wilhelm Caspari: *Orgiastik und alttestamentliche Weissagung*, *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 33 (1922), pp. 283-298. For an interesting comparison of Hebrew prophetic literature with the so-called "Revelation-Literature" of the Middle Ages cf. Joh. Lindblom: *Die literarische Gattung der prophetischen Literatur* (=Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1924, Bd. I, Teologi, I), and for a study of the prophets' own conception of the media of their revelations cf. Joh. Hänel: *Das Erkennen Gottes bei den Schriftpropheten* (=Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament, ed. R. Kittel, N.F. Heft 4), 1923, Berlin, and especially H. W. Hertzberg: *Prophet und Gott* (=Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, ed. Schlatter and Lütgert, vol. 28, Heft 3), 1923, Gütersloh. Hertzberg thus expresses the purpose of his book: "Darum soll hier in voller Einseitigkeit der Versuch gemacht werden dasjenige was der Prophetie an den Wurzeln steht lediglich mit den Mitteln ihrer eigenen 'Psychologie' klarzustellen," p. 9. It is doubtful whence the Hebrews derived this prophetic ecstasy—from the Canaanite (cf. G. Hölscher: *Zum Ursprung des israelitischen Prophetentums* in *Alttestamentliche Studien* R. Kittel dargebracht, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 88-100)?—or from the Dionysiac orgies of Thrace, or from the Hittites of Asia Minor (cf. T. H. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35)? "At present it is advisable to hold our judgment in

suspense": so A. S. Peake in an admirable paper on *The Roots of Hebrew Prophecy and Jewish Apocalyptic* in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, vol. 7, No. 2 (January, 1923), pp. 233-255. For the study of the psychology of the Prophets cf. G. C. Joyce: *The Inspiration of Prophecy: An Essay in the Psychology of Revelation*, 1910, and J. W. Povah: *The New Psychology and the Hebrew Prophets*, 1925; see further D. E. Thomas: *A Psychological Approach to the Study of Prophecy*, American Journal of Theology, 18 (1914), pp. 241-256.

3. It is in my judgment hardly necessary to regard 1 Samuel ix.-x. 16 as an unhistorical prophetic legend; so G. Beer.

4. If we emend Edom into Aram and supply Beth-Rehob from the Septuagint in 1 Samuel xiv. 47 cf. Emil G. H. Kraeling: *Aram and Israel* (= Columbia University Oriental Studies, vol. 13), New York, 1918, p. 39 (see n. 11 *infra*).

5. The following paragraph is a conjectural reconstruction of the course of events: the chronological position of the capture of Jerusalem is uncertain. For a different reconstruction and a sketch-plan to illustrate the Philistine operations see R. A. S. Macalister: *The Philistines*, 1913, pp. 58-59. In my reconstruction I seek to avoid the necessity for emending the text of 2 Samuel v. 22 from Rephaim to Bekaim: cf. A. Bruno: *Gibeon*, Leipzig, 1923, p. 11—an emendation accepted by Ernst Sellin: *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, 1, Leipzig,

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1924, p. 164. The student may derive some amusement, though hardly much enlightenment, from the paper of Emil Gamber: *Die Eroberung Jerusalems durch David*, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 32 (1925), pp. 156-168. David's capture of Jerusalem becomes the enforced removal of some cripples from the Pool of Bethesda.

6. Cf. L. H. Vincent: *Le Sinnor dans la Prise de Jérusalem* (2 Samuel v. 8), Revue Biblique, 33 (1924), pp. 357-370, and see the admirable discussion of the passage by R. A. S. Macalister: *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* [1926], pp. 173-178.

7. I do not follow E. Sellin, *op. cit.* (see note 5), p. 165, in his separation of 2 Samuel vi. 1 from its setting.

8. I cannot regard the account of the Philistine wars given in the Books of Samuel with the scepticism of S. A. Cook. The very remarkable character of the Hebrew historiography of this period has not received due recognition; but cf. E. Täubler: *Die Anfänge der biblischen Geschichtsschreibung in Der Morgen*, 1 (1926), pp. 699-707 (especially the Anlage "Der Tag von Jabesch"), and Max Löhr: "Nur Israel ist unter allen Völkern Vorderasiens über die annalistische Form der Geschichtsdarstellung hinweggekommen und hat eine wirkliche Geschichtsschreibung erzeugt. Ja, im A.T. sind die Elemente vorhanden, welche zur Bildung einer Universalgeschichte den Grundstock abgeben, nämlich die

beiden Gedanken von der Einheit des Menschengeschlechtes—das Korrelat zu dem einen Gott—und von der Führung der Menschen durch den Willen Gottes zu einem bestimmten Ziel." *Der Morgen*, I (1926), p. 633. I have not accepted the theory of Kusters (*De verhalen over de ark in Samuel*, Theol. Tijdschrift, 1893, pp. 361-378)—the ark not restored by the Philistines: it remained in their hands until after the victories of David—adopted by Cheyne (cf. *Encyclopædia Biblica*, coll. 303-305), revived by Sellin, *op. cit.* (see note 5), pp. 167-170, and surely carried to ridiculous lengths by Mowinckel—David never recovered the ark, but made a new one—*Psalmstudien* 2, Kristiania, 1922, p. 113. This theory mainly rests upon the view that the Philistines would never have voluntarily restored the ark despite the attribution of the plague to the wrath of Jehovah (so Cheyne, col. 303, and Mowinckel); but cf. L. W. King: *A History of Babylon*, 1915, p. 296, and his *Letters of Hammurabi*, 3, pp. 6 ff. That the ark should have played no part in the campaigns after its restoration is surely not difficult to understand: it was an object full of the curious unaccountability of the divine, and for a time it was left alone; see the admirable study by P. Volz: *Das Dämonische in Jahwe*, Tübingen, 1924.

9. On Jerusalem as an ancient pre-Davidic religious centre cf. F. M. Th. Böhl: *Älteste keilschriftliche Erwähnungen der Stadt Jerusalem und ihrer Göttin?* Acta Orientalia, I (1923), Leiden, pp. 76-80. For the topography of Jerusalem see R. A. S. Macalister, *op. cit.* (see note 6 *supra*), chap. 2.

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10. Cf. 2 Samuel vi. 14, 17. For the position of the king as the Anointed of Jehovah and as priest, and its reflection in Hebrew literature cf. A. Causse : *Les plus vieux chants de la Bible*, Paris, 1926, pp. 143-166 ; and for a study of Hebrew dynastic sentiment cf. W. Caspari : *Tronbesteigungen und Tronfolge der israelitischen Könige* (= Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen, I, 3), Leiden, 1917. On the "royal psalms," used by kings in worship, because they were priests and thus offered prayers for their people, cf. H. Gressmann in *The Psalmists*, Oxford, 1926, at p. 14. But though the king as the Anointed of Jehovah was sacrosanct, there was never in Israel an apotheosis of the king, and monarchic despotism was ruthlessly condemned [cf. Max Löhr in *Der Morgen*, I (1926), p. 633].

11. For the position of these kingdoms see Kraeling, *op. cit.* (cf. n. 4), pp. 39 *sqq.* On the present campaign cf. *ibid.*, pp. 41 *sqq.* It is probable that from 1 Samuel xiv. 47 we may infer that Ammon had already been allied with Beth-Rehob and Zobah in its war against Saul.

12. For another interpretation of 2 Samuel viii. 3 cf. Kraeling : *op. cit.* (see note 4), p. 43.

13. I would warn the reader that my view of David's conquests would not be accepted by most modern scholars (cf. *e.g.*, S. A. Cook *s.v.* *David*, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., p. 857, col. 1). I cannot share their doubts.

14. Kraeling: *op. cit.* (cf. note 4), p. 47.

15. For the following cf. A. Causse: *Le "Pauvres" d'Israël*, Strasbourg, 1922, pp. 23-31, and W. Caspari: *Aufkommen und Krise*, etc. (see Bibliographical Note for this chapter).

16. For the administrative division of the Hebrew kingdom consult A. Alt: *Israels Gaue unter Salomo* in *Alttestamentliche Studien* Rudolf Kittel dargebracht, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 1-19. Cf. further W. F. Albright: *The Administrative Divisions of Israel and Judah*, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 5 (1925), 17-54, and A. Alt: *Judas Gaue unter Josia* in *Palästina-Jahrbuch* for 1925, 21, pp. 100-116.

17. Or? from N. Syria and Cilicia: so Winckler, cf. F. M. Th. Böhl: *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 25.

18. Cf. Breasted: *A History of Egypt*, 2nd ed., p. 529, T. E. Peet: *Egypt and the Old Testament*, Liverpool, 1922, p. 163, who think that this campaign fell in the reign of Shishak. Lehmann-Haupt prefers to date it to the reign of Siamon (*Israel im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte*, Tübingen, 1911, p. 66); and cf. H. R. Hall: *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 433 and 437; he would now be inclined to adopt Lehmann-Haupt's view, cf. *The People and the Book*, Oxford, 1925, p. 32.

19. Both the revolt of Edom and Rezon's occupation of Damascus are to be placed in the early years of Solomon's reign, cf. G. Hölscher:

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Das Buch der Könige, seine Quellen und seine Redaktion in Ευχαριστήριοις (=Gunkel Festschrift), I, Göttingen, 1923, pp. 175 sqq.

20. Cf. H. Hirschfeld: *Note on Ophir*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April 1924, p. 260. That Ophir is to be sought on the coast of the Red Sea in S.W. Arabia is the view of B. Moritz: *Arabien*, Hanover, 1923; cf. E. Bräunlich: *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1925, col. 4.

21. Gold, ivory and apes seem impossible products to be derived from trade with Spain, but Schulten considers that Tartessos was a point from which the Phœnicians reached the Gold Coast of W. Africa (so Dahse: *Ein zweites Goldland Salomos* in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 43 (1911), pp. 1-79). See A. Schulten: *Tartessos*, Hamburg, 1922, pp. 3-6, and most recently in *Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (Berlin) in Jahrbuch 40 (1926), coll. 342-346. See further O. Jessen: *Zur geographischen Seite der Tartessos-Frage*, *ibid.*, coll. 346-355; Lammerer: *Gedanken zum Tartessos-Problem*, *ibid.*, coll. 356-364.

22. For the riddle in Hebrew literature cf. Torczyner: *The Riddle in the Bible*, Hebrew Union College Annual, I (1924), pp. 125 ff. and H. Gressmann: *Israels Spruchweisheit im Zusammenhang der Weltliteratur*, Berlin, 1925, pp. 12-19. See in particular Psalm xix. There is an interesting collection of traditional material in A. Wünsche: *Die Rätselweisheit bei den Hebräern mit Hinblick auf andere alte Völker*, Leipzig, 1883.

23. The proverbs of Amen-em-ope were first published and translated by Wallis Budge (*Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 2nd Series) in 1923; re-edited by Budge in his book *The Teaching of Amen-em-Apt, son of Kanekht*, 1924; translated by Erman: *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1924, No. 5 and their importance considered in his *Eine ägyptische Quelle der Sprüche Salomos* (Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1924, No. 15).

They were again studied by Gressmann: *Die neugefundene Lehre des Amen-em-ope und die vorexilische Spruchdictung Israels*, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* N.F.1 (1924), 272-296; his results are stated in popular form in his highly interesting booklet *Israels Spruchweisheit*, etc. (see note 22). For the English reader there is a useful paper by S. A. B. Mercer: *A new-found Book of Proverbs*, in *Anglican Theological Review*, 8 (January 1926), Lancaster, U.S.A., pp. 237-244, and cf. M. H. Dunsmore in *Journal of Religion*, 5 (1925), pp. 300-308, and see *The People and the Book*, Oxford, 1925, p. 214. Mention may also be made of Josef Linder: *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amen-em-ope und die Sprüche von Weisen* (Prov. 22, 17-23, 11), *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 49 (1925), pp. 138-146; of H. Grimme: *Weiteres zu Amen-em-ope und Proverbien*, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1925, coll. 57-62; and of the remarks of Junker, *ibid.*, coll. 371-5. See further A. Causse: *Israel et la Vision de l'Humanité*, Strasbourg, 1924, pp. 81-87. For Egyptian Wisdom-Literature cf. A. Erman: *Die*

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Literatur der Aegypter, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 86-121, and Wallis Budge: *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1914, chap. 13. See further Gustave Lefebvre: *Égyptiens et Hébreux*, *Revue Biblique*, 31 (1922), pp. 481-8. "Les Juifs en contact avec les Égyptiens ont connu les théories philosophiques et religieuses professées dans les collèges sacerdotaux, comme celui d'Hermopolis; aux traités didactiques qui s'y élaboraient ils ont pu emprunter des formules et l'expression de quelques idées: mais ils ne l'ont fait que dans la mesure où ces idées s'accordaient déjà à leurs propres conceptions morales et métaphysiques" (p. 488). On the subject of Hebrew borrowings from other civilisations cf. J. M. Powis Smith: *Archæology and the Old Testament during the first quarter of the twentieth century*, *The Journal of Religion*, 6 (1926), pp. 284-301, and *ibid.*, pp. 419-424, and particularly Max Löhr: *Israel und die Kultur des alten Vorderasien*, in *Der Morgen*, 1 (1926), pp. 625-637. A word may be added here generally upon Egyptian influence on Israel. Some years ago the view that the mould of Hebrew prophecy—coming destruction and thereafter a Messianic age of blessedness—was derived from Egypt was widely held; Eduard Meyer went so far as to suggest that "the material content of all prophecy is taken over from Egypt" (*Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle, 1906, p. 454). But Gardiner has shown that there is no basis for such a far-reaching conclusion: *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 15-17—the passages in the Admonitions of Ipuwer are none of them certainly prophetic in character—and despite

the evidence of the Papyrus Petersburg 1116 B (published by Gardiner in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, I, pp. 20-36, 100-106) quoted by A. B. Mace in his paper *The Influence of Egypt on Hebrew Literature*, *Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, 9 (Liverpool, 1922), pp. 3-26, at p. 22, it would seem that we cannot with confidence derive the eschatology of the Hebrew prophets from an Egyptian model; see Peake in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 7 (January, 1923), pp. 243-246. See L. Dürr: *Ursprung und Ausbau der israelitisch-jüdischen Heilandserwartung*, Berlin, 1925, pp. 1-15. But cf. the recent discussions of the question by C. C. M'Cown: *Hebrew and Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature*, *Harvard Theological Review*, 18 (October, 1925), pp. 357-411 (I cannot share M'Cown's belief, p. 366, that it is probable that the author of Psalm civ. borrowed *directly* from Akhnaten's hymn), and H. Gressmann: *Foreign Influences in Hebrew Prophecy*, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 27 (1926), pp. 241-254. Gressmann has contended that Psalm civ. is based upon an Egyptian-Phoenician original, not specifically the psalm of Akhnaton, but more generally an Egyptian psalm in Phoenician guise. H. Gressmann: *The Development of Hebrew Psalmody in The Psalmists*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 18-20 and cf. A. M. Blackman: *The Psalms in the Light of Egyptian Research*, *ibid.*, pp. 177-197. For Egypt as a possible source of Israel's Messianic hope cf. H. Gressmann in *American Journal of Theology*, 17 (1913), pp. 173-194 at pp. 191-3; W. Caspari: *Die Anfänge der alttestamentlichen messianischen Weissagung*, *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 31 (1920),

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455-481, would see this source rather in the names of Hittite kings : the theory appears to me improbable. Interesting suggestions of *possible* Egyptian influences upon Hebrew thought are made by Ernst Sellin in his paper on *Die neugefundene 'Lehre des Amen-em-ope' in ihrer Bedeutung für die jüdische Literatur und Religionsgeschichte* in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, N.F.I, Heft 26 (1924), coll. 1873-1884, but it is essential to realise that these are only, as yet, suggestions : he has elsewhere, *Geschichte*, etc. (see note 5), I, p. 198, compared the Hebrew "king-psalms" with the hymns to Ramses II. For the suggestion that an Egyptian Horus mystery lies behind the form of the Immanuel prophecy of Isaiah, cf. R. Kittel : *Die hellenistische Mysterienreligion und das Alte Testament*, Stuttgart, 1924, and see also his paper *Osirismysterium und Laubbüttenfest* in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, July, 1924, coll. 385-391 ; with which contrast H. Gressmann : *The Mysteries of Adonis and the Feast of Tabernacles*, *The Expositor*, Series 9, vol. 3 (1925), pp. 416-432. For the complex character of the Feast of Tabernacles and its relation with the Taboo of the House cf. A. J. Wensinck : *Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles*, *Verhandelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde*, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 25, No. 2, Amsterdam, 1925.

24. A. Causse : *op. cit.* (see note 15), p. 26.

25. It has been doubted whether this passage can be used for the purposes of historical recon-

struction: cf. H. P. Smith: *Old Testament History*, 1903, p. 179, n. 2 on 1 Kings, xii., 22 ff.

26. We are beginning to realise that one way, at least, to a fuller and more living understanding of the Psalms is to interpret them as traditional liturgies and congregational hymns. A large part of the Book of Psalms can thus be regarded as the hymn-book of the First—and not merely of the Second (post-exilic)—Temple. A popular presentation of the case can be found in J. P. Peters: *Bible and Spade* (=The Bross Lectures 1921), Edinburgh, 1922, and cf. his article *Hebrew Psalmody*, *Harvard Theological Review*, 9 (1916), pp. 36-55. For a fuller exposition cf. the same author's book *The Psalms as Liturgies* (Paddock Lectures), 1922; and cf. e.g. S. Mowinckel: *Psalmenstudien*, 2, Kristiania, 1922; J. M. Powis Smith: *Law and Ritual in the Psalms*, *The Journal of Religion*, 2 (1922), pp. 58-69, and G. H. Box in *Church Quarterly Review*, 100, pp. 319-320 (on the general question of the dating of the Hebrew Psalms see Mowinckel, pp. 201-202 and H. Gressmann in *The Psalmists*, Oxford, 1926, at pp. 9-10, 13-15). Further reference may be made to St. John Thackeray: *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins* (Schweich Lectures for 1920), 2nd ed. 1923, and A. C. Welch: *The Psalter in Life, Worship and History*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 63-88.

27. For Babylonian parallels cf. P. Handcock: *Babylonian Penitential Psalms* (in *Texts for Students*, No. 25, S.P.C.K., 6d.); G. A. Barton: *Archæology and the Bible*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1917, pp. 398

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sqq.; and cf. Morris Jastrow: *The Civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria*, Philadelphia, 1915, pp. 469-474; Otto Weber: *Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrier*, Leipzig, 1907, chap. 10. The similarity is, however, mainly a similarity of form: "Les analogies sont plus formelles que réelles." A. Causse: *op. cit.* (see note 15), pp. 126-7. The whole subject has recently been admirably discussed by G. R. Driver: *The Psalms in the Light of Babylonian Research* in *The Psalmists*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 109-175, with the conclusion: "We cannot, therefore, believe that Babylonian hymns and psalms exercised any real influence on the work of the Hebrew Psalmists." (Cf. Gressmann, *ibid.*, pp. 15-17, and D. C. Simpson's remarks, *ibid.*, pp. xii., xiii.). See further F. Stummer: *Sumerisch-akkadische Parallelen zum Aufbau alttestamentlicher Psalmen*, Paderborn, Schöningh, 1922. Here I should agree with Landsberger (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1925, col. 480, n. 1) that it is "a priori sehr unwahrscheinlich dass die schon seit ca. 2000 tote, auch den Babyloniern (abgesehen von einigen berühmten Stücken) nicht, oder nur halb verständliche. . . . Tempelliteratur auf die Israeliten Einfluss geübt haben könnte." We shall be able to judge better of the extent of the Babylonian influence when Gunkel's commentary on the Psalms (in Nowack's *Handkommentar zum A.T.*), 1925, etc., is completed.

28. The Davidic element in Israel's Messianic hope is, in my judgment, unduly minimised by H. P. Smith in his suggestive paper, *The Origin of the*

Messianic Hope in Israel, American Journal of Theology, 14 (1910), pp. 337-360.

VII

SYRIA AND ASSYRIA

IN the history of Assyria the army is all-important: it may therefore be useful to refer to J. Hunger's pamphlet *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Assyrier auf der Höhe ihrer Macht* (=Der Alte Orient, 12 [1911], Heft 4, Leipzig).

For geographical references in ancient authors to N. Syria, Ernst Honigsmann's *Historische Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum*, Leipzig, 1923, is a useful book of reference.

For Phœnicia cf. G. Contenau: *La Civilisation phénicienne*, Paris, 1926.

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1. That Rehoboam should have considered it politic to go to the North—to Shechem—for his coronation is evidence for the survival of the old tribal independence, and for the cleavage in sentiment between Israel and Judah.

2. The date, the purpose and the extent of this campaign are alike uncertain: Lehmann-Haupt *Israel im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1911),

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pp. 68 *sqq.*, thinks that Shishak was incited to invade Judah by Jeroboam to relieve the pressure of Rehoboam's army, while Sellin considers that the campaign was directed against both kingdoms. The presence of the names of cities of the *northern* kingdom in Shishak's Karnak inscription has been explained by M. Müller on the ground that Israel was *tributary* to Egypt: the inclusion of these cities in the Karnak list does not necessarily mean that they were *attacked* by the Egyptian army. Cf. *Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. *Shishak*, and see J. H. Breasted: *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago, 1906), 4, pp. 348-358. But this view would seem to be refuted by the discovery of an inscription of Shishak at Megiddo—at present only known to me from a statement in the *Times* for June 7, 1926.

3. For Samaria see the two volumes (admirably illustrated) of the account of the American excavations of the city: G. A. Reisner, G. S. Fisher and D. G. Lyon: *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, 1908-1910, Cambridge (U.S.A.), Harvard University Press, 1924. Vol. 1, Text. Vol. 2, Plates. For a summary see R. Dussaud: *Samarie au temps d'Achab*, Syria, 6 (1925), pp. 314-338, 7 (1926), pp. 10-29, and cf. H. Gressmann: *Die Ausgrabungen in Samaria*, Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, N.F.2 (1925), pp. 147-150. See further H. Thiersch in (Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins, 36 (1913), pp. 49-57.

4. For the reasons of this supremacy of the northern kingdom see C. F. Kent: *History of the*

Hebrew People (many editions : London, Smith Elder), vol. 2, chap. 3.

5. An exaggeration ? Cf. E. G. H. Kraeling : *Aram and Israel* (New York, 1918), p. 51.

6. Kraeling, *op. cit.* (see note 5), chap. 7.

7. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.* (see note 5), chap. 8.

8. Kraeling *op. cit.* (see note 5), p. 75. For the unreliability of the Assyrian royal inscriptions cf. R. Kittel : *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 3rd ed., p. 400, n. 4, and in general A. T. E. Olmstead : *Assyrian Historiography, a Source Study* (= University of Missouri Studies, Social Science Series, vol. 3, No. 1), Columbia, Missouri, 1916.

9. I accept the identification of Benhadad with Adad-idri of the Assyrian inscription ; I am well aware of the difficulty of this identification : but see R. Kittel : *op. cit.* (see note 8), p. 395 and n. 3. I cannot persuade myself that Shalmaneser can have been mistaken in the name of the reigning king of Israel (so Kittel, p. 399), nor can I accept Luckenbill's theory of the course of events, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 27 (1911), pp. 267-284, even as modified by Kraeling, *op. cit.* (see note 5), pp. 76-77. It is to be remembered that in the face of the Assyrian peril Ahab had forgone the fruits of his former victory over Damascus. Immediately after the battle of Karkar he seeks some satisfaction for his former politic

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clemency. Ahab's death would thus fall in the later months of 854 B.C. (cf. Martin Thilo: *Die Chronologie des Alten Testaments*, Barmen, 1917, pp. 28-29).

10. For Kir-Hareseth cf. E. Sellin: *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, 1 (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 217, 221. 2 Kings iii. 27 would appear to veil the fact that the Hebrews attributed their defeat to the anger of Chemosh; cf. R. A. Aytoun: *God in the Old Testament*, 1922, pp. 39, 48. For the Mesa inscription cf. H. F. B. Compston: *The Inscription on the Stele of Méša* (Text and Translation) in S.P.C.K. Texts for Students, 6d., or see G. A. Barton: *Archæology and the Bible*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1917, pp. 363-5. For the interest of the inscription cf. S. R. Driver: *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible* (=Schweich Lectures 1908), 1909, pp. 21-22. The genuineness of the inscription has often been questioned, but Dr Cowley in a letter to me states that in his judgment there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. 2 Chronicles xx., if it be in substance historical, will represent Mesa's vengeance upon Judah.

11. If Jehoahaz (=Ahaziah) was indeed the youngest son of Jehoram (and there seems no reason to doubt the statement), his brothers must have died *before* the rebellion of Jehu, and Jehu could surely not have put to death the brothers of Jehoahaz *before* his insurrection. I therefore accept 2 Chronicles xxi. 16-17 as historical—otherwise Sellin: *op. cit.* (see note 10), p. 223—and interpret 2 Kings x. 12-14

as = generally "members of the royal family of Judah."

12. Since A. Kuenen: *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, I, 2 (1890), p. 81, it has been customary to refer 2 Kings vi. 24-vii. 20 to the reign of Jehoahaz (Kraeling, *op. cit.*,—see note 5—p. 82, regards this transposition as a certainty), or to treat the passage (with Winckler) as a later duplicate of 1 Kings xx. (so Sellin, *op. cit.*,—see note 10—p. 215). I consider both suggestions as misconceived; Joram may have ascended the throne in 852; the invasion of Moab is doubtless to be dated to the early years of his reign. After 849 the Assyrian army did not march to the West until 846; there is therefore room for a Syrian campaign against Israel between the years 849 and 846 B.C. Benhadad during this interval may well have thought it essential to chastise the northern kingdom for the presumption of Ahab in attacking Ramoth-Gilead: a successful invasion of Israel could only strengthen his hands against Assyria when the Eastern empire should renew its operations in the West.

13. An assault was threatened from "Misraim," which in this case may signify, not Egypt, but the Haldian kingdom of the northern Musri in Cappadocia; cf. Kraeling: *op. cit.* (see note 5), p. 82.

14. For dating cf. Thilo: *op. cit.* (see note 9), p. 29.

15. Cf. H. Winckler: *Das Vorgebirge am*

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Nahr-el-Kelb und seine Denkmäler (1909), p. 16
(=Der alte Orient, vol. 10, Heft 4).

16. Cf. Kraeling : *op. cit.* (see note 5), p. 80.

17. For a discussion of this chapter cf. G. A. Smith : *The Book of the Twelve Prophets* (1908), I, chap. 7.

18. See 2 Kings xiii. 7 with Kraeling's comment, *op. cit.* (see note 5), p. 81 : (?) read 1000 for 10,000 footmen.

19. A coalition of dynasts under Benhadad III(?) of Damascus which attacked Hazrak (=Hadrach, Zechariah ix. 1), a fortress belonging to Hamath, was defeated by the king of Hamath, Zakir, as we learn from his own inscription. For Zakir's inscription cf. Pognon : *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*, Paris, 1907, No. 86. The inscription is translated and discussed in Kraeling *op. cit.* (see note 5), chap. 11. The inscription calls the Syrian king Mari : does this =merely a title, " my lord," or is this the name of the successor of Benhadad (so Sellin, *op. cit.*—see note 10—p. 229) ? The date of this attack upon Hadrach is, however, quite uncertain ; Kraeling's elaborate reconstruction of the course of events, dating the attack to the reign of Jeroboam II (772 B.C.), appears to me very doubtful. On the probable location of Hadrach S. or S.E. of Hamath in the neighbourhood of Homs cf. M. Lidzbarski : *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 3

(1915), pp. 174 *sqq.*, and see his paper *König Zkr von Hamath*, *ibid.*, pp. 1-11.

20. It has been suggested that Azariah had already at this time been declared king by conspirators revolting against Amaziah. This would have weakened the resistance of Judah. Cf. Thilo, *op. cit.* (see note 9), p. 26.

21. Cf. Kraeling, *op. cit.* (see note 5), chap. 12. For the Vannic kingdom cf. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt : *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, 2, i, Berlin and Leipzig, 1926.

22. This prophecy has recently been the subject of much discussion. For the theory that a background of popular mythology is presupposed by the prophet cf. Hugo Gressmann : *The Sources of Israel's Messianic Hope*, American Journal of Theology, 17 (1913), pp. 173-194. I must confess that I cannot believe that the "damsel" ("virgin" of the Septuagint) of Isaiah's prophecy is the Assyrian "Queen of Heaven" [so G. H. Dix : *The Influence of Babylonian Ideas on Jewish Messianism*, Journal of Theological Studies, 26 (1925), pp. 241-256]. I should cordially agree in this with R. Kittel : "Dass Jesaja bewusst den Mythos übernahm, halte ich für ausgeschlossen," *Die hellenistische Mysterienreligion und das Alte Testament* (Stuttgart, 1924), p. 68. For a similar criticism of Gressmann's view that Isaiah liii. is inspired by the widespread Oriental myth of the dying and resurrected god—the Servant of Jehovah is an apocalyptic figure conceived after the model of Adonis and Tammuz (Gressmann : *Der*

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Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie, Göttingen, 1905, pp. 317-333)—cf. A. Causse : *Israël et la Vision de l'Humanité*, Strasbourg, 1924, p. 56, n. 2. Kittel himself thinks that the background and imagery of Isaiah's prophecy have been adopted by the prophet from an Egyptian Horus-Osiris mystery-cult celebrating the birth from a virgin of a divine wonder-child who should make all things new ; this mystery-cult is associated with the New Year festival of the winter solstice, and the child is thus regarded as the Sun who keeps his birthday on December 25. Kittel's essay is of great interest but so far as concerns the "Immanuel" prophecy I am sceptical. [See J. A. Brewer in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 45 (1926), pp. 1-13]. For the translation "Virgin" in Isaiah vii. 14 cf. the material collected by R. Dick Wilson in *Princeton Theological Review*, 24 (1926), pp. 308-316. For the significance of the New Year festival cf. S. Mowinkel : *Psalmenstudien*, 2, Kristiania, 1922 and A. S. Wensinck in *Acta Orientalia*, 1, Leyden, 1923, pp. 158-199, *The Semitic New Year and the Origin of Eschatology*. For a statement of the case against any "transcendental" view of Jewish eschatology see N. Messel : *Die Einheitlichkeit der jüdischen Eschatologie* = 30th Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Giessen, 1915.

23. I have carefully studied, but cannot accept, M. Thilo's reconstruction of the chronology of the years 734-732 B.C. (see M. Thilo : *In welchem Jahre geschah die sog. syrisch-efraemitische Invasion und wann bestieg Hiskia den Thron?* Barmen, 1918). I

hope elsewhere to justify my rejection of that reconstruction. It will be noticed that in the text I have made no mention of Azriyau of Jaudi: for my present purpose it would have been irrelevant. I cannot identify Azriyau of Jaudi with Azariah of Judah. I am not convinced by Luckenbill's attempt [cf. D. D. Luckenbill: *Azariah of Judah*, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 41 (1925), pp. 217-232] to revive this identification, nor by Gressmann's support of Luckenbill's view, cf. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. 2 (1925), pp. 287-8. This is not, however, the place to discuss Luckenbill's argument.

24. Cf. 2 Kings xvii. 4 with the comment of Thilo, *op. cit.* (see note 9), p. 30. It has been suggested that the So or Sebe "king of Egypt" of 2 Kings xvii. 4 = Sibü whose ushabti has been recovered; cf. G. Möller in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 22 (1919), 145-7. So or Sebe would then be a minor vassal king in Egypt.

25. The chronology of the last days of the northern kingdom is disputed; the fall of Samaria is usually dated under Sargon in 721 B.C.; Olmstead would, however, place it under Shalmaneser (727-722 B.C.), in 723 B.C. I cannot accept the view which would place it in 708 B.C.; so P. Riessler: *Zur Chronologie des Alten Testaments*, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 104 (1923), pp. 1-11.

26. For a full discussion of the very difficult

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passage 2 Kings xvii. 24-41 see Moses Gaster : *The Samaritans* (=Schweich Lectures 1923), 1925, pp. 11 *sqq.*, especially at p. 17, and cf. L. Haefeli : *Geschichte der Landschaft Samaria*, etc., Münster, 1922, pp. 18 *sqq.*

(ii) JUDAH

1. By J. P. Peters : *The Psalms as Liturgies* (Paddock Lectures), 1922.

2. Cf. A. C. Welch : *The Code of Deuteronomy* (1924).

3. Cf. E. Sellin : *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, I, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 210-211, 227-228, 241-251.

4. Date uncertain : 718 B.C. (?) (Sellin) 715-14 B.C. (Thilo).

5. I agree with Sellin, *op. cit.* (see note 3), p. 270.

6. Egypt had been defeated by Sargon at the battle of Raphia—an incident in the suppression of the northern revolt of 720 B.C.

7. Or was it at the time of Merodach-Baladan's second seizure of Babylon in 703-2 B.C.? Cf. C. J. Gadd : *A Royal Gambler of the Eighth Century B.C.*, *Holborn Review* (July), 1922, pp. 363-372 ; and see the Introduction to Sidney Smith's

The First Campaign of Sennacherib, King of Assyria, 705-681 (=The Eothen Series, No. 2), 1921.

8. The Biblical account of the deliverance of Jerusalem raises perhaps the most interesting purely historical problem in the Old Testament. In a sketch like the present it was only possible to give in the text a dogmatic statement of my own view of the probable course of events. I desire however to record my conviction that on the existing evidence certainty cannot be reached. The contention that the Biblical account of the deliverance of Jerusalem is to be referred to a later campaign of Sennacherib in Palestine, of which we have at present no knowledge, cannot be ruled out of court, though to myself this appears the less probable solution. The suggestion that the deliverance should be transferred to the reign of *Esarhaddon*, tentatively proposed by Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, etc., 1924, pp. 6-11, I regard as misconceived; so also the contention of Reisner who would deny the intervention of Egypt, and treats *Musri* here as =Arabia [cf. George A. Reisner: *Recent Discoveries in Ethiopia*, Harvard Theological Review, 13 (1920), 23-44 at pp. 31-42]. The reconstruction given in the text of the course of events is based upon the masterly appendix of R. Kittel: *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 3rd ed., Gotha, 1917, 2, pp. 621-630, with which cf. E. Sellin: *op. cit.* (see note 3), 1, pp. 271-278. See also H. M. Wiener: *The Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism*, 1923, chap. 3, pp. 40-54, and W. A. C. Allen: *Old Testament Prophets*, Cambridge, 1919, pp. 132-141. For the

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view that the deliverance should be referred to a later campaign of Sennacherib the fullest statement is to be found in R. W. Rogers: *Sennacherib and Judah* in 27th Beiheft of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1914), pp. 317-328 and cf. G. A. Smith: *Jerusalem*, 1908, vol. 2, pp. 148-180, and for a more recent two-campaign reconstruction see P. Riessler: *Zur Chronologie des Alten Testaments*, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 104 (1923), pp. 11-19. I do not understand the statement of W. F. Albright that the question "has now been definitely solved in favour of" this view. *The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem*, Vols. II and III, 1923, p. 17 n. 18. (See *ibid.*, pp. 13-14, for some remarks on the strategy of Sennacherib.) For the extra-Biblical accounts of the campaign cf. H. M. Wiener *supra* or G. A. Barton: *Archæology and the Bible*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1917, pp. 372-377. For the measures taken by Hezekiah in defence of the city cf. R. A. S. Macalister: *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* [1926], pp. 119-121, 134, 184-187.

9. The question whether Sennacherib was murdered in Babylon or in Nineveh has been much discussed of recent years; it would now appear that the Biblical account is right (2 Kings xix. 36-37) in placing it at Nineveh. This is no place for any detailed account of the controversy, but it can be adequately studied by reference to the following: A. Jeremias: *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1906, p. 531; Friedrich Schmidtke: *Asarhaddons Statthalterschaft in Baby-*

lonien und seine Thronbesteigung in Assyrien 681 v. Chr. (= *Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen* ed. Bruno Meissner, I, 2), Leiden, 1916, pp. 109-113; A. Ungnad: *Die Ermordung Sanheribs*, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1917, pp. 358-9; F. Schmidtke, *Der Ort der Ermordung Sanheribs*, *ibid.*, 1918, pp. 169-171; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt: *Zur Ermordung Sanheribs*, *ibid.*, 1918, pp. 273-6; A. Condamin: in *Recherches de Science religieuse*, 9 (1918), pp. 418 *sqq.*; A. T. Olmstead: *The Fall and Rise of Babylon*, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 38 (1922), at pp. 84 *sqq.*; B. Landesberger and Th. Bauer: *Zu neu veröffentlichten Geschichtsquellen der Zeit von Asarhaddon bis Nabonid*, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, N.F. 3 (1926), 61-98 at pp. 65-73.

10. On these cf. Sidney Smith: *Babylonian Historical Texts*, etc., 1924, pp. 3-11.

11. By Oestreicher: *Das deuteronomische Grundgesetz*, Gütersloh, 1923, p. 54.

12. Cf. Gressmann: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. 1 (1924), pp. 321 *sqq.*

13. Cf. C. J. Gadd: *The Fall of Nineveh*, 1923, pp. 4-5; Sidney Smith, *op. cit.* (see note 10), p. 23.

14. Hardly here as allies of Assyria against Egypt: so Schmidt, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 4333.

15. *Herodotus*, I, 103-107; 4, 1. Cf. the able article of N. Schmidt in *Encyclopædia Biblica s.v.*

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Scythians ; and see J. Skinner : *Prophecy and Religion*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 40-41.

16. This view is defended by Skinner, *op. cit.* (see note 15), chap. 3 ; G. A. Smith : *Jeremiah*, 1923, pp. 73, 110-134, 381-3. (It is possible that these early prophecies were "worked over" some years later, when [*c.* 604 B.C.] the invasion of the Chaldeans was imminent). It presupposes the accuracy of the date of Jeremiah's call as given in chap. i. of his collected prophecies. Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, I, p. 112 f., Leipzig, 1895, rejected this, and dated the beginning of Jeremiah's prophecy to *c.* 610 B.C. It must be admitted that at present our only express authority for the western invasion of the Scyths is Herodotus : but the account given by Herodotus of the history of the Near East has been confirmed in so many particulars that it appears to me hazardous to treat his statement in this case as entirely destitute of any historical foundation (so F. Wilke : *Das Skythenproblem im Jeremiabuch* in *Alttestamentliche Studien* R. Kittel dargebracht, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 222-254). It would now appear that the fact of a Scythian invasion of Palestine at this time is supported by the discovery of a seventh-century *Scythian* stratum in the excavations at Beth-Shean. At present (December 1926) I have not seen any detailed account of the excavations, and can only refer to the statement of J. M. Powis Smith in *The Journal of Religion*, 6 (1926), p. 293. The attempt of Horst (F. Horst : *Die Anfänge des Propheten Jeremia*, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 41 [1923], pp. 94-153) to prove that the earliest genuine prophecies

of Jeremiah are to be dated *after* the death of Josiah (608 B.C.) does not convince me.

17. I have adopted in the text the account of Josiah's reform given in the Book of Kings. It may well be that the reform was gradual and extended over several years, as is stated in the account given in the Book of Chronicles. I cannot share Gressmann's scorn of the work of the Chronicler as a historical source (cf. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. 1 [1924], pp. 313-316); I should rather agree with the view of Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* 2, Kristiania, 1922, p. 331. The real difficulty of the problem lies, of course, in the absence of comparative material by which to test in each individual case the value of the Chronicler's statements; in these circumstances the historical student can hardly pass beyond *probabilities*.

18. Cf. Ed. Naville: *Egyptian Writings in Foundation Walls and the Age of the Book of Deuteronomy*, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, 29 (1907), pp. 232 *sqq.*, and cf. the parallels collected by A. Jirku: *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 184-5. Did "the Book of the Law" date from the reign of Hezekiah? [For Deuteronomy as the rule and standard of the reform of Hezekiah cf. E. Sellin: *Introduction to the Old Testament* (English Translation, 1923), p. 76; cf. the summary of G. H. Box in *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. 100, pp. 295-8]—or had it been stored in the Temple in the dark days of the persecution of Manasse? Those who believe

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in the Mosaic authorship of the Deuteronomic code would regard it as a "foundation deposit" at the time of the original building of the Temple in the reign of Solomon (see next note).

19. Since the time of De Wette (1805), the law-code of the Book of Deuteronomy has been generally identified with the "Book of the Law" discovered in the Temple in the reign of Josiah. That position has however recently been challenged and the date of composition of the Book of Deuteronomy is now a subject of vigorous discussion. If we adopt the view of De Wette and further hold that the "discovery" of the Code was but a pious fraud—the Code simply representing the programme of the reformers in Josiah's day—the problem does not arise; but there are probably few scholars who would maintain to-day the theory of a "pious fraud." Further it is important to remember that the dating of the Code of Deuteronomy as we possess it to the reign of Josiah does not for a moment necessarily imply that the provisions of the Code were first formulated in that reign (cf. A. Jirku: *Die Älteste Geschichte Israels im Rahmen lehrhafter Darstellungen*, Leipzig, 1917, p. 161); it is now widely admitted that much of the material contained in the Code is far more primitive. Cf. e.g., Eichrodt: *Bahnt sich eine neue Lösung der deuteronomischen Frage an?* Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, 32 (1921), pp. 41-51, 53-78, and Max Löhner: *Das Deuteronomium: Untersuchungen zum Hexateuchproblem II* (=Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft; Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, 1 Jahr, Heft 6), 1925.

The different views on the date of composition of the Code may be briefly tabulated: (i) That Deuteronomy is in essentials "Mosaic"; cf. H. M. Wiener: *The Main Problem of Deuteronomy*, Oberlin, Ohio, 1920 (reprinted from *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January 1920, pp. 46-82), and cf. Max Löhr: *op. cit.* Those who hold this theory would admit that there has been subsequent editorial revision and annotation; cf. *e.g.*, James Orr: *The Problem of the Old Testament*, 1905. (ii) That of A. C. Welch: *The Code of Deuteronomy* [1924?]. The Code represents a somewhat haphazard collection of early legal rulings which may be compared with "the decisions of an ecclesiastical synod in the medieval period" (p. 189); the collection may be dated to the early years of the divided monarchy and probably emanates from the northern kingdom. Deuteronomy xii. 1-7 is the only passage which definitely ordains the centralisation of the cultus of Jehovah in a single sanctuary: but this passage is a later addition to the Code: elsewhere in the book the recurrent words "the place which Jehovah shall choose to cause his name to dwell there" = not *one* specific place, *i.e.*, Jerusalem, but any shrine or altar dedicated to Jehovah and *not* to Baal. Cf. T. Oestreicher: *Das deuteronomische Grundgesetz*, Gütersloh, 1923, and W. Staerk: *Das Problem des Deuteronomiums. Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Pentateuchkritik*, Gütersloh, 1924—both in the series *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, ed. Schlatter and Lütgert. (iii) That Deuteronomy was compiled under Hezekiah or in the dark days of Manasseh: when the reformers were persecuted, it was hidden for safety in the Temple.

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For an attempt to date Deuteronomy on these lines cf. S. Mowinckel : *Acta Orientalia*, 1 (1923), Leiden, pp. 81-104. (iv) The "pious fraud" theory, outlined above. (v) That Deuteronomy is post-exilic, and is to be dated c. 500 B.C. ; cf. Hölscher : *Komposition und Ursprung des Deuteronomiums*, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 40 (1922), pp. 161-255, and *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, Giessen, 1922, pp. 132-4 ; similarly, though for different reasons, Kennett : *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1905, July 1906 ; *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, 1909, pp. 91-135 ; *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue*, Cambridge, 1920. For a statement and criticism of Kennett's view cf. G. H. Box in *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. 100, pp. 299-302. In so far as I can form a judgment I should adopt (iii), while recognising that the Code contains much early material. Here Welch's book in its study of the primitive elements in the Code is of great interest. (Cf. G. H. Box, *ibid.*, pp. 302-6). The question of the date of composition of the Code only directly concerns us so far as it affects our view of the character of Josiah's reforms. The account in the Book of Kings of that reformation includes the centralisation of the cultus of Jehovah in Jerusalem : our Book of Deuteronomy xii. 1-7 also enjoins such a centralisation. Hölscher would cut out from 2 Kings xxiii. the verses 8a and 9, and contends that centralisation of the cult in Jerusalem was no part of the Josianic reform : see *Εὐχαριστήριον* (= Gunkel Festschrift), 1, Göttingen, 1923, pp. 206-213. In this, even though the verses be misplaced (see Schmidt in *Theologische Literatur-*

zeitung, July 1923, col. 291), I cannot follow him. For a criticism of Hölscher and of F. Horst: *Die Kultusreform des Königs Josia*, Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft N.F., 2 (1923), pp. 220-238, see H. Gressmann's valuable study *Josia und das Deuteronomium*, Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft N.F., 1 (1924), pp. 313-337. I would adhere to the view that our Book of Deuteronomy = substantially the "Book of the Law" of Josiah's reform. [For the view that the Book of the Law = "the Law of Holiness" or at any rate a large part of it, cf. G. R. Berry: *The Code found in the Temple*, Journal of Biblical Literature, 39 (1920), pp. 44-51; and for criticism of this paper cf. Alex. Freed, *ibid.*, 40 (1921), pp. 76-80]. With this, indeed, Welch's theory of the composition of Deuteronomy is quite compatible, for the phrase "the place which Jehovah shall choose," etc., whatever its original meaning may have been, can well have been interpreted at a later date to mean one specific place = Jerusalem, and Deuteronomy xii. 1-7 would then represent the general provision which gave effect to that interpretation (cf. Eichrodt's paper cited on p. 254). The question of the original meaning of the phrase would thus become irrelevant so far as the reformation of Josiah is concerned: it remains for the grammarians to determine whether the Hebrew article can bear the interpretation put upon it by Welch and Oestreicher—on this point cf. König in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F., 1 (1924), 337-346, and Oestreicher, *ibid.*, N.F. 2 (1925), pp. 246-249. See also A. C. Welch: *When was the*

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worship of Israel centralised at the Temple? *ibid.*, 2 (1925), pp. 250-255, and a criticism of the views of Welch by S. A. Cook: *Journal of Theological Studies*, 26 (1925), pp. 162-170. I am not convinced by Kegel's contention that the centralisation of the cultus in Jerusalem was only intended from the first as a temporary measure—a contention which leads to the conclusion that the conception of a permanent centralisation of sacrifice in the Temple is exilic or post-exilic. Kegel's adaptation of the views of Oestreicher appears to me misconceived. See his lengthy essay *Wo opferte Israel seinem Gott?* *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 35 (1924), pp. 239-280; 483-516.

For an admirable discussion of the whole problem cf. J. B. Harford in the *Expositor*, 9th Series, vol. 4 (1925), pp. 323-349, reprinted in *Since Wellhausen*, 1926 (which can be obtained from B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, price 2s.), pp. 92-117; and see further J. E. M'Fadyen in *The People and the Book*, Oxford, 1925, pp. 199-204, and p. 219. On the book of Deuteronomy cf. A. H. M'Neile: *Deuteronomy*, 1912. For the historical background of the centralisation of the worship of Jehovah cf. the paper by J. Meinhold: *Zur Frage der Kultuszentralisation* in 27th Beiheft of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1914), pp. 299-315 (and see further Eichrodt's article cited on p. 254), and for the Deuteronomic Passover as the beginning of the peculiarly Israelite history of the festival, cf. H. Guthe: *Das Passahfest nach Deut. 16* in the Baudissin *Festschrift* (= Beiheft 33 of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*), 1918, pp. 217-232.

20. In this hotly disputed question I follow Skinner: *Prophecy and Religion*, Cambridge, 1922, chap. 6; cf. G. A. Smith: *Jeremiah* (= Baird Lecture for 1922), 1923, pp. 134-161. See also A. F. Puukko: *Jeremias Stellung zum Deuteronomium*, in *Alttestamentliche Studien* R. Kittel dargebracht, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 126-153.

21. This aspect of the reform is, however, in my judgment over-accentuated in A. C. Welch's paper *The Death of Josiah*, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F., 2 (1925), pp. 255-260.

22. The following reconstruction of the history of the last years of the Assyrian Empire is throughout based upon the British Museum publication by C. J. Gadd: *The Fall of Nineveh. The newly discovered Babylonian Chronicle No. 21,901 in the B.M.*, 1923. Cf. Dhorme: *La Fin de l'empire assyrien d'après un nouveau document*, *Revue biblique*, 33 (1924), pp. 218-234, and Gadd's answer to criticisms, *The Nabopolassar Chronicle again*, in *Expositor*, 9th Series, vol. 3 (1925), pp. 85-93. It may be noted here that it has been doubted whether Nabopolassar was ever an Assyrian vassal: it has been suggested that *from the first* he stood in opposition to Assyria: cf. B. Landesberger and Th. Bauer: *Zu neu veröffentlichten Geschichtsquellen der Zeit von Asarhaddon bis Nabonid*, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, N.F. 3 (1926), pp. 61-98.

23. It may be doubted whether the Umman-Manda here = the Scyths or the Medes: it seems

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probable that the Medes are meant cf. F. Thureau-Dangin : *La Fin de l'empire assyrien*, Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale, 22 (1925), pp. 27-29; and cf. in the same sense B. Landesberger and Th. Bauer : *Zu neu veröffentlichten Geschichtsquellen der Zeit von Asarhaddon bis Nabonid*, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie N.F. 3 (1926), pp. 61-98, at pp. 81-83, 87.

24. Some scholars, e.g., Thureau - Dangin, *op. cit.* (see note 23), would place Necho's campaign in 609 B.C., though Necho is not mentioned in the new chronicle which ends with the year 609 B.C.

25. Cf. A. C. Welch : *The Death of Josiah*, *loc. cit.* (see note 21).

26. For an attempt to prove that the account of the Book of Chronicles is here a better source than the Book of Kings cf. Arthur Hjelt : *Die Chronik Nabopolassars und der syrische Feldzug Nechos*, Beiheft 41 of the Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (=Marti Festschrift), Giessen, 1925, pp. 142-147.

27. Or had the Assyrian empire fallen in 608 B.C. and was Necho now seeking to secure for himself a part of what had been Assyrian territory? For the dating of Nahum's prophecy to this time cf. W. W. Cannon in *Expositor*, 9th Series, vol. 3 (1925), pp. 433-444.

VIII

BABYLONIA

For Jeremiah besides the works mentioned in the *Bibliography* (p. 186), read H. W. Hertzberg: *Prophet und Gott*, Gütersloh, 1923, and the pamphlet by P. Volz: *Der Prophet Jeremia*, Tübingen, 1921.

1. Here I venture upon an avowedly conjectural reconstruction of the reign of Jehoiakim.

2. On Jeremiah xxvi. 22 f. cf. Jirku: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 39 (1921), p. 148.

3. Ezekiel xix. 8-9 compared with 2 Chronicles xxxvi. 6.

4. With 2 Kings xxiv. 1 compare the cuneiform fragment *conjecturally* assigned to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar by Winckler (*Keilinschriftliches Textbuch*, ed. 3, p. 56 f.), and cf. R. Kittel: *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 3rd ed., pp. 609 sqq.

5. The dates are quite uncertain, but I have conjecturally referred the "coming up" of Nebuchadnezzar, 2 Kings xxiv. 1, to the year 602 B.C.

6. On 2 Kings xxiv. 12-16 cf. E. Klamroth: *Die jüdischen Exulanten in Babylonien*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 13.

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7. On the possible political significance of this secret Egyptian cult cf. H. Schmidt : *Das Datum der Ereignisse von Jer. 27 und 28*, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 39 (1921), pp. 140-141. The sun-worshippers who "put the branch to their nose" have been interpreted as Magian priests with the *barsom*; J. H. Moulton : *Early Zoroastrianism* (1913), pp. 189-191, 198-9. It is true, as I have noted in the text, that Hogarth has suggested that Babylonia under Nebuchadnezzar may have been forced to admit the (nominal) suzerainty of Media, but I find it difficult to believe that Median priests should have penetrated to Jerusalem at this time. The suggestion is an interesting attempt to explain a baffling phrase, and it is always possible that Zedekiah, playing for safety, desired to conciliate *both* his political overlords—Babylonian star-cult and Median sun-worship. (See A. Berridale Keith in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, at p. 792. On the lamentations for Tammuz cf. J. P. Peters : *The Worship of Tammuz*, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 36 (1917), pp. 100-111. Peters considers that there are only two certain references to Tammuz worship in the Old Testament—Isaiah xvii. 10-11 and Ezekiel viii. 14.)

8. This I think results from Ezekiel's chronology. I do not accept the suggestion of Klamroth (cf. note 6) that Ezekiel was carried into exile at some date after 597 : I am not attracted by the revolutionary view of G. Hölscher in his book *Hesekiel. Der Dichter und das Buch*, Giessen, 1924. I should regard the book of Ezekiel as essentially a

unity, and not an anthology. On the other hand I cordially accept the proposal of H. Schmidt (*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 39 [1921], pp. 138-144) to date Jeremiah xxvii. and xxviii. to the year 591-590 (the seventh year of Zedekiah) : this is I think necessary, since in that year (591-590) Ezekiel learns of the treachery of Zedekiah in revolting from Nebuchadnezzar. The march of Psammetichus into Asia in 590 explains Ezekiel's attack upon Egypt in chap. xx. : it is really directed against the policy of the patriotic party in Jerusalem and their alliance with the Pharaoh. For the expedition of Psammetichus cf. A. Alt : *Psammetich II in Palästina und in Elephantine*, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 30 (1910), pp. 288-297.

9. This is a conjecture based on the opening verses of Jeremiah xxix., adapting to my chronology a suggestion made by Klamroth (cf. note 6), pp. 13 *sqq.*

10. Jeremiah xxix.

11. On Gedaliah cf. J. Skinner : *Prophecy and Religion* (Cambridge, 1922), chap. 14.

12. Cf. Cowley : *Jewish Documents of the Time of Ezra*, 1919, p. xiii. But this interpretation of the evidence of the papyri has been questioned, cf. *infra* § ix. (ii.) note 33 (p. 287). For a suggestion that the Jews suffered severely in the defeat of Apries by Amasis cf. B. Motzo : *La Sorte dei Guidei in Egitto*

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al tempo di Geremia, Rivista degli Studi orientali, 6, (1914-5), pp. 353-363.

13. With this cf. E. Sellin's attractive interpretation of the prophecy of Hosea in his book *Mose und seine Bedeutung für die israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 16-31.

14. For an attempt to explain the passages (e.g., Jeremiah xxxi. 4-6, Ezekiel xxxvii. 15-28) announcing the reconciliation of Ephraim and Judah by the supposition that in Babylonia the exiles from the northern kingdom had joined those who had been deported from Judah cf. A. Causse : *Les Origines de la diaspora et la formation du judaïsme*, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 90 (1924), pp. 225-240 and his *Israël et la Vision de l'Humanité*, Strasbourg, 1924, pp. 23-27 ; for an interpretation of Jeremiah's mention of Israel in iii. 1-iv. 2, see A. C. Welch : *Jeremiah and Northern Israel*, Expositor, 8th Series, 10 (1915), pp. 481-492. Welch would regard iii. 14 b-18 as a later addition to Jeremiah's original prophecy.

15. A. S. Peake in *The People and the Book*, Oxford, 1925, p. 283.

16. J. Skinner : see his commentary on Isaiah xl. -lxvi. in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. lv-lxiii, 257-281, and see A. S. Peake : *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, 1904, chap. 3. In Deutero-Isaiah Israelite religion reached its highest point : in this "supreme

and unique personality," "if anywhere, we may find the chief factor in the spiritual regeneration of the Israelite community, and our theories of the marvellous reconstruction of Israel, amid the decay and downfall of the surrounding empires, will be incomplete if Isaiah xl. *sqq.* are left out of the question." S. A. Cook in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 26 (1925), at pp. 172-173, and see his chapter on the Hebrew Prophets in Cambridge Ancient History, vol. iii. It is of course impossible to discuss here the theories of modern scholars on "The Servant of the Lord" poems. I have read carefully R. H. Kennett's *The Servant of the Lord*, Arnold, 1911: but the view that the poems were composed immediately after the persecution of Antiochos and the successful resistance of the Maccabees appears to me simply incredible, although it has recently been revived by Paul Haupt, *Understandest thou what thou readest?* Beiheft 41 of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1925 (=Marti Festschrift), pp. 118-127. For an admirable criticism of the theory see C. F. Burney in the *Church Quarterly Review* for October, 1912, pp. 99-139. A few references to recent literature must suffice: for the view that the "Servant of the Lord" is an apocalyptic figure conceived on the model of Adonis and Tammuz cf. H. Gressmann: *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1905, pp. 317-333 and the criticism of this view in A. Causse: *Israël et la Vision de l'Humanité*, Strasbourg, 1924, p. 56, n. 2. For the suggestion that the servant is the writer of the poems himself see S. Mowinckel: *Der Knecht Jahwäs*, Giessen, 1921

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(cf. Max Haller : *Die Kyroslieder Deuterojesajas* in *Εὐχαριστήριον*, Göttingen, 1923, I, pp. 261-277), and similarly H. Gunkel : *Ein Vorläufer Jesu*, Berne, 1921. E. Sellin who formerly thought that the Servant = Zerubbabel (cf. *Serubbabel*, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 148-182) would now consider that the poems are inspired by the figure of Moses who was martyred by the Hebrews : cf. his deeply interesting book *Mose und seine Bedeutung für die israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1922, pp. 113-125. For Jehoiachin as the Servant cf. A. van Hoonacker : *The Servant of the Lord in Isaiah xl. ff.*, Expositor, 8th Series, II (1916), pp. 183-210. For a Messianic interpretation cf. A. Guillaume : *The Servant Poems in the Deutero-Isaiah*, Theology, II (1925), pp. 254-263, 309-319 ; 12 (1926), pp. 2-10, 63-72, and with this cf. for chap. lii. 13-chap. liii. C. Bruston : *Le Serviteur de l'Éternel dans l'avenir* in the *Marti Festschrift* (see *supra*), pp. 37-44, and A. Causse : *op. cit.*, pp. 53 *sqq.*, who concludes that " au point de départ le serviteur représente le peuple exilé, puis la communauté jahviste, la minorité des *anavim*. Au point d'arrivée, c'est bien un héros personnel, le libérateur mystérieux, un héros analogue au Messie."

For Deutero-Isaiah cf. Reuben Levy : *Deutero-Isaiah : A Commentary with a Preliminary Essay on Deutero-Isaiah's influence on Jewish Thought*, Oxford, 1925, and see A. Causse : *La Vision de l'Humanité dans la prophétie deutero-ésaiïque*, *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 2 (1922), pp. 465-498.

17. D. G. Hogarth : *The Ancient East*, 1914, pp. 120-6.

18. Sidney Smith : *Babylonian Historical Texts relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon*, 1924, P. 43.
19. H. M. Wiener : *The Prophets of Israel*, etc., 1923, pp. 71-72.
20. An inference from the chronology of the Book of Ezekiel.
21. Cf. L. W. King : *A History of Babylon*, 1915, p. 278.
22. For the rest of this section I have made constant use of the work of Mr Sidney Smith (cf. note 18).
23. Or was he the high-priest of the Magi ? Cf. J. H. Moulton : *Early Zoroastrianism*, 1913, pp. 187-8, 429-430. This appears improbable : cf. E. Benveniste : *Rabmag* in *Mélanges offerts à M. Israel Lévi*, etc. (= *Revue des Études juives* 82, Nos. 163-4), Paris, 1926. Rather the word = the Babylonian title *rab mugi* (magister equitum) which has passed to the Hebrews through the Aramæan. See Benveniste's discussion of the inscription published by H. Grégoire in *Comptes Rendus : Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1908, pp. 434-447.
24. Jeremiah xxxix. 3, 13. Cf. L. W. King, *op. cit* (see note 21), pp. 280-281. For Amel-Marduk's release of Jehoiachin from prison cf. 2 Kings xxv. 27-30; Jeremiah lii. 31-34, and on this cf. W. Schwenzner in *Klio*, 18 (1922), pp. 55-6.

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25. *Herodotus* I, 188, see Sidney Smith: *op. cit.* (cf. note 18), pp. 37-43.

26. Cf. W. Schwenzner in *Klio*, 18 (1923), at pp. 227, 230. In the light of these newly published documents the whole question of the treatment of Belshazzar by the author of the Book of Daniel must be reconsidered. H. H. Rowley's consideration of the subject (*The Belshazzar of Daniel and of History*, The Expositor, 9th Series, vol. ii. (1924), pp. 182-195, 255-272) becomes inadequate and misleading. For Tema (= Teman) cf. R. P. Dougherty: *Nabonidus in Arabia*, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 42 (1922), pp. 305-316. It has been suggested that the long residence of Nabonidus in Teman represents an attempt to unite the Arabians in support of Babylon as a counterpoise against Persia; Cyrus, however, did not, as was expected, attack Babylon directly after his victory over Media: see B. Landesberger and Th. Bauer: *Zu neu veröffentlichten Geschichtsquellen der Zeit von Asarhaddon bis Nabonid*, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, N.F., 3 (1926), pp. 61-98 at pp. 97-8.

27. Cf. W. Schwenzner: *Gobryas*, *Klio*, 18 (1922-3), pp. 41-58, 226-252.

28. For the date of the defection of Gobryas cf. Schwenzner, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-231.

IX

PERSIA

(i)

For this period reference may be made to the long series of articles by J. Touzard: *L'âme juive au temps des Perses*, *Revue Biblique*: 1916, pp. 299-341; 1917, pp. 54-137, 451-488; 1918, pp. 336-402; 1919, pp. 5-88; 1920, pp. 5-42; 1923, pp. 59-79; 1926, pp. 174-205, 359-381 (to be continued).

1. Were these Cyrus prophecies written not only for the exiles but also *for Cyrus*? Was the writer at the time in the camp of Cyrus and therefore protected from Babylonian attack? See Max Haller: *Die Kyros Lieder Deuterojesajas* in *Εὐχαριστηριον* Göttingen, 1923, I, pp. 261-277. I should find it difficult to follow those who would regard Palestine as the scene of the activity of Deutero-Isaiah: cf. John A. Maynard: *The Home of Deutero-Isaiah*, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 36 (1917), pp. 213-224; Moses Bittenwieser: *Where did Deutero-Isaiah live?* *ibid.*, 38 (1919), pp. 94-112.

2. Cf. A. H. Sayce: *Fresh light from the Ancient Monuments*, 1893, chap. 7.

3. For a translation of this inscription see W. M. Flinders Petrie: *A History of Egypt*, vol. iii.

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1905, pp. 360-362 ; cf. H. R. Hall : *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 565-6, 568 ; and Eduard Meyer : *Die Entstehung des Judentums*, Halle, 1896, p. 71.

4. Cowley : *Jewish Documents of the Time of Ezra*, 1919, pp. 72-73.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-4.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-77.

8. For the text of the inscription see G. Dittenberger : *Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum*, 3rd ed., I (1915), pp. 20-21.

9. I desire to accentuate the fact that the following paragraphs represent my own conjectural reconstruction of the history of the rebuilding of the Temple : cf. my article *Zerubbabel's Rebuilding of the Temple*, *Journal of Theological Studies* 25 (1924), pp. 154-160. For the whole of the period covered by this section of my book Eduard Meyer's *Die Entstehung des Judentums* (see note 3) is invaluable. For another view of the Biblical sources which regards the account of the return from exile under Cyrus as unhistorical, fabricated in order to justify the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah, cf. Kusters : *Die Wiederherstellung Israels in der persischen Periode*, Heidelberg, 1895. For a brief summary of

the arguments advanced in support of this contention cf. *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, edited by H. B. Swete, 1909, 4, *From Nebuchadnezzar to Alexander*, by R. H. Kennett, pp. 110-111. I am convinced that the view is untenable.

10. I am unable to accept the elaborate argumentation by which Kugler has attempted to prove that Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel are one and the same person: cf. F. X. Kugler: *Von Moses bis Paulus* (Münster, 1922), pp. 203-215, and see my article quoted in note 9.

11. W. Emery Barnes: *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi* (=Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges), Cambridge, 1917, p. 3.

12. Cf. J. H. Moulton: *Early Zoroastrianism*, 1913, pp. 186-7, 194-196, 231.

13. Cf. W. Emery Barnes, *op. cit.* (see note 11), p. 19.

14. For the political situation cf. E. Sellin: *Serubbabel*, Leipzig, 1898, and see J. P. Naish in *Expositor*, 9th Series, vol iii. (1925), pp. 34-49.

15. The two crowns must originally have been intended for Zerubbabel, as king, and Jehozadak, as high-priest, cf. v. 11.

16. Cf. G. A. Smith: *Jerusalem*, 1908, 2,

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pp. 315-6; L. E. Browne: *Early Judaism*, Cambridge, 1920, chap. 6.

17. See L. E. Browne: *op. cit.* (cf. note 16), chap. 7.

18. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

19. *Nehemiah and Ezra*. (a) *Chronology*. For my present purpose it will be sufficient to refer to the excellent study by L. E. Browne: *Early Judaism* (Cambridge 1920), chap. x. I am not convinced by Kugler's elaborate astronomical argument in support of the traditional date of Ezra: F. X. Kugler: *Von Moses bis Paulus* (Münster 1922), pp. 215-233, and I agree with the criticism of A. van Hoonacker in his article *La Succession chronologique Néhémie-Esdras*, *Revue Biblique*, 32 (1923), pp. 481-494; 33 (1924), pp. 33-64.

(b) *The historical existence of Ezra*. I have carefully considered C. C. Torrey's able book *Ezra Studies*, University of Chicago Press, 1910, but I cannot accept his contention that Ezra is a mythical figure, fabricated to incorporate the ecclesiastical ideals of the Chronicler. My dissent from Torrey's view is based upon my general estimate of the Chronicler's use of materials and method of literary composition. Obviously this estimate cannot be set forth in this place. It should, however, be frankly stated that Torrey has on his side the enthusiastic—and weighty—support of Theodor Nöldeke: the Chronicler's account of Ezra's activity is for Nöldeke

“eine tendenziöse Fälschung;” see his article *Zur Frage der Geschichtlichkeit der Urkunden im Esra-Buche*, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, N.F., I (1924), Heft 26, coll. 1849-1856. On Torrey's view cf. L. E. Browne: *Early Judaism*: chap. 10. There is a useful note in this connection by G. B. Gray: *The Title “King of Persia,”* *Expository Times*, 25 (1914), pp. 245-251, the conclusions of which do not seem to me to be shaken by the admirable collection of material in R. D. Wilson's *The Title “King of Persia” in the Scriptures*, *Princeton Theological Review*, 15 (1917), pp. 90-145.

(c) *General*. Cf. the article by W. H. Kusters on Ezra-Nehemiah in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. ii., the commentary on the books of Ezra and Nehemiah by L. W. Batten in the *International Critical Commentary* and the valuable work of Max Haller: *Das Judentum in Die Schriften des Alten Testaments*, Göttingen, 1914. I have not yet been able to study the second (enlarged and revised) edition of this book which has recently appeared (1925).

(d) *Ezra and the Law*. Here the essential work is Eduard Meyer's *Die Entstehung des Judentums*, Halle, 1896. On the question: *what law* Ezra proclaimed as binding upon the Jews? cf. L. E. Browne: *op. cit.*, chap. 10. For the present critical position on the composition of P (the Priestly Code), see J. B. Harford: *Since Wellhausen* (Article 5), *The Expositor*, 9th Series, vol. iv. (1925), pp. 403-429, or in the reprint of these articles in separate form (cf. note on p. 258), pp. 118-144.

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20. Ezra vii. 25-26 : read the text of the whole decree (vii. 11-26).

21. Cowley : *op. cit.* (see note 4 *supra*), p. xvii.

(ii)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For the religion of Zoroaster J. H. Moulton's *The Treasure of the Magi*, Oxford, 1917, gives perhaps the best summary statement for the English reader. The scientific discussion of the evidence on which that statement is based is contained in J. H. Moulton: *Early Zoroastrianism*, 1913 (= *E.Z.* in following notes) on which my own account is founded and to which I have throughout referred. Cf. also the two pamphlets published at one penny each by the Catholic Truth Society: L. C. Casartelli: *The Religion of the Great Kings*, n.d., and A. Carnoy's *Religion of the Avesta* (in the Series C.T.S. Lectures on the History of Religions), and see further the sketch of Chr Bartholomae: *Zarathuštra's Leben und Lehre* (= *Kultur und Sprache*, Heft 4), Heidelberg, 1924: this has now been translated into English—*Zarathuštra, His Life and Doctrine*, in *Indo-Irânian Studies*, Kegan Paul, 1925 (published 1926), pp. 1-15. All students should read J. H. Moulton's little book *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* (in the Series of Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature), Cambridge, 1911, while in his *Early Zoroastrianism* (*supra*) Moulton has given a complete translation of the *Gâthâs*. (See also the translation by C. Bartholomae: *Die Gatha's des Awesta, Zarathustras*

Verspredigten, Strassburg, 1905). A selection of translated extracts from the Parsi Scriptures will be found in S. A. Kapadia's *The Teaching of Zoroaster and the Philosophy of the Parsi Religion* (in the *Wisdom of the East Series*, 1905). The Greek and Latin texts on Zoroastrianism have been collected by C. Clemen in his *Fontes historiæ religionis persicæ*, Bonn, 1920, and considered in his book *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion*, Giessen, 1920. For another collection of passages from the classical authors cf. A. V. Williams Jackson : *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, New York, 1899, pp. 226-273. It is a pity that there is no English translation of the fascinating study by R. Pettazzoni : *La Religione di Zarathustra nella storia religiosa dell' Iran*, Bologna [1921?]. See further A. J. Carnoy : *The Moral Deities of Iran and India and their Origins*, *American Journal of Theology*, 21 (1917), pp. 58-78. Mention may also be made of the paper by Paul Volz : *Der heilige Geist in den Gathas des Sarathuschtra*, *Εὐχαριστήριον*, Göttingen, 1923, 1, pp. 323-345. I am not concerned here with the developed Iranian Mythology, on which see A. J. Carnoy in *The Mythology of all Races*, ed. L. H. Gray, vol. vi., Boston, 1917.

1. *The date of Zarathustra.* Parsi tradition is unreliable, and we have no independent sources which might take the place of tradition. Thus a wide field is open for the conjectures of scholarship. J. Hertel has recently argued that Zarathustra was alive in 522, and probably even after that date (*Die Zeit Zoroasters*, Leipzig, 1924). For an able and in my

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judgment convincing criticism of that view see Jarl Charpentier: *The Date of Zoroaster*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, London, 1925, pp. 747-755. A. V. Williams Jackson would date Zarathustra between the middle of the seventh century and the first half of the sixth: see his *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, New York, 1899, pp. 150-178. So A. Meillet: *Trois Conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta*, Paris, 1925, pp. 21-32 (Zarathustra born about 660 B.C.); it will be noted that he considers that there is no reason to connect the Vištāspa who protected Zarathustra with Vištāspa, the father of Darius. R. Pettazzoni in his able study, *La Religione di Zarathustra nella storia religiosa dell'Iran*, Bologna [1921], has pointed out that monotheism has developed along one single line which begins with the Hebrews and then is prolonged unbroken through Christianity and Islam (p. 78). Outside of this great master-path there remains in the whole of antiquity only one monotheistic formation which was truly such and which was proved to possess vitality and power of survival—that sole exception is Zoroastrianism: and we are thus led to ask whether this is a true exception—whether Zoroastrianism is not itself linked in its origins to the great historical line of the monotheistic idea inaugurated in Israel. Pettazzoni would suggest that this is indeed the case, for “proselytism was a characteristic of Judaism” (p. 81). He refers to Eduard Meyer: *Geschichte des Altertums*, III, 1 (1901), p. 190 and *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 29 f., 38, and Esther viii. 17. When the Northern kingdom fell on the capture of

Samaria (722 B.C.) the deported Hebrews were settled in part "in the cities of the Medes," 2 Kings xvii. 6: but "alla fine dell' viii secolo il monoteismo era abbastanza largamente professato in Israele, se non dalla massa del popolo, certo negli ambienti che aderivano alla predicazione dei Profeti. Non sembra impossibile che alcuni dei deportati abbiano propagato la loro religione del dio unico nelle terre dove presero stanza" (p. 83). This preaching might have inspired a man of great faith to adapt the imported word to the mind, the soul, the tradition of his people; thus at some point in N.W. Iran in the course of the seventh century B.C. could arise the Reform of Zarathustra. This view has received the support of the great Iranian scholar L. H. Gray (cf. *Harvard Theological Review*, 15 [1922], p. 89). It seems impertinent for the present writer to suggest a doubt: but was an *explicit* monotheistic faith really an acquired possession of the Hebrews of the northern kingdom before the fall of Samaria? Was even monolatry secure? We recall the sack of an Israelite city by Mesha of Moab and the looting of the sanctuary of the god Dodah, cf. R. A. S. Macalister: *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* [1926], p. 147. I find it difficult to accept the hypothesis of Pettazzoni. Amongst the Median chiefs defeated by Sargon 715-713 B.C., the name Mazdaku occurs twice: Eduard Meyer regards this name as = "Mazdean," and therefore a proof that Zoroastrianism already existed at the close of the eighth century: cf. Ed. Meyer: *Die ältesten datierten Zeugnisse der iranischen Sprache und der zoroastrischen Religion*, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende*

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Sprachforschung, 42 (1908), 1 *sqq.* But this is not conclusive; see the criticism of Pettazzoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23. From the use of the name Assara Masās by Assurbanipal (cf. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1899, p. 132), as A. Berriedale Keith has suggested, it is hardly necessary to infer that Zoroastrianism was already in existence: the name Ahura Mazdah might have been known before the time of Zarathustra: cf. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, pp. 798-9. So Meillet: *Trois Conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta*, Paris, 1925, p. 25, nothing in the Gâthâs indicates that Zarathustra was the first to attribute divine supremacy to Ahura Mazdah; "ce n'est pas le nom du dieu qui caractérise le zoroastrianisme. À en juger par le texte Zoroastre adore un dieu communément admis . . . le groupement de *Mazda(h)* avec *Ahura* doit être bien antérieur à Zoroastre." Chr. Bartholomae in his interesting pamphlet *Zarathustras Leben und Lehre* (= Kultur und Sprache, Heft 4) would place Zoroaster c. 900 B.C. (p. 11). Jarl Charpentier (*op. cit.*) concludes that Zoroaster preached his religion in Bactria about the beginning of the first millennium B.C. J. H. Moulton: *Early Zoroastrianism*, 1913, pp. 28-32, *The Treasure of the Magi*, Oxford, 1917, p. 13, was of the opinion that "nothing later than the tenth century can be admitted . . . and another century or two may be quite reasonably allowed." This is also the view of Édouard Meyer: *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, 2, pp. 58 *sqq.*, and apparently of Berriedale Keith: *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 40 (1920), p. 232. I have adopted it in the text of this book. Zarathustra has often been

regarded as the writer of the Gâthâs: Meillet's caution, however, must not be overlooked: there is no proof that all the fragments are by the same author: the fact that in them Zarathustra is often mentioned in the third person tends to render doubtful the attribution of all the fragments to Zarathustra himself. All that is certain is that later compilers have inserted these archaic pieces in their collection: they were already hardly intelligible but were regarded as a sacred heritage. "Les gâthâ sont les débris conservés de la réforme zoroastrienne telle pièce exprime des sentiments personnels, a de l'accent, de la vie; telle autre, comme Yasna L, est dénuée de caractère, et fait l'effet d'une œuvre d'école. Le petit recueil des gâthâ représente ce qui reste de toute une littérature." A. Meillet: *Trois Conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta*, Paris, 1925, pp. 14-15. "Si les gâthâ sont envisagées d'ensemble, c'est par une approximation grossière, et qui, sans doute, est éloignée de la réalité," *ibid.*, p. 16. The disconnected character of these verse fragments has been explained by Bartholomae on the supposition that they were formerly connected by an amplification or commentary in prose: this prose commentary was lost and only the verse fragments, deprived of their setting and their connecting links, were preserved. For the exemplification of this theory see Meillet: *ibid.*, pp. 39-52.

2. For the form of the name cf. Jarl Charpentier in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London*, 1925, p. 747 n. 1.

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3. Traditionally at Raghai = (?) Rhagai, not far from Teheran. Cf. Pettazzoni, *op. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 72 *sqq.*
4. Cf. J. H. Moulton : *Early Zoroastrianism* (= *E.Z.*), 1913, p. 81-83.
5. So Bartholomae : *op. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 8-9 ; *E.Z.*, pp. 84 *sqq.*
6. Cf. *E.Z.*, pp. 141-2.
7. J. H. Moulton : *The Treasure of the Magi*, Oxford, 1917, p. 18 ; *E.Z.*, pp. 155-6. On the whole subject cf. the recent monograph by Jal Dastur Cursetji Pavry : *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life from Death to the Individual Judgment* (= Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, vol. xi), New York, 1926.
8. For the character of Ahura Mazdah in the early hymns (the *Gâthâs*) cf. *E.Z.*, pp. 93-96, 290, *sqq.* ; for traces of the earlier naturalistic conception of the sky-god appearing in the Avesta cf. Pettazzoni : *op. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 49 *sqq.* ; see further the paper by Pettazzoni : *Ahura Mazda, the Knowing Lord* in *Indo-Iranian Studies*, Kegan Paul, 1925 (published 1926), pp. 149-161.
9. Cf. *E.Z.*, pp. 49-50, 131.
10. Cf. J. H. Moulton : *The Treasure of the Magi*, p. 27 ; *E.Z.*, pp. 137-138.

11. J. H. Moulton : *The Treasure of the Magi*, pp. 29-30 ; cf. *E.Z.*, pp. 138, 148-150, 306-308.

12. On these two judgments—the general and the individual—cf. Ed. Meyer : *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, 2, Stuttgart, 1921, pp. 65-67. On the judgment of the individual—in Moulton's view Zarathustra's own addition to the eschatological picture (*E.Z.*, p. 170)—cf. *E.Z.*, pp. 160-170, and see p. 144 ; cf. further the monograph cited in note 7 *supra*. I have not yet seen A. V. Williams Jackson's paper *The Ancient Persian Doctrine of a Future Life*, in *Religion and the Future Life*, edited by E. Hershey Sneath, New York, 1922, pp. 121-140, but [see Cursetji Pavry : *op. cit.* (at note 7), p. xxv] the substance of it can be found in the *Biblical World* (Chicago), 8 (1896), pp. 149-163. See also J. H. Moulton : *The Zoroastrian Conception of a Future Life*, in *Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute* (London), 47 (1915), pp. 233-247.

13. *E.Z.*, pp. 173-4, 157-8 ; but see Jackson's note on p. 312. Meyer denies for Zoroastrianism any doctrine of eternal punishment, *op. cit.* (see note 12), p. 69.

14. Cf. L. C. Casartelli : *The Religion of the Great Kings* (see Bibliographical Note on p. 274), pp. 4-5. On Dualism cf. Pettazzoni : *op. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 96-7. "L'idea monoteistica ci appare nel Zoroastrismo delle origini allo stato puro. Il dualismo non la offende. In realtà il dualismo non è negazione del monoteismo : anzi è il monoteismo

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stesso in due aspetti opposti e contrari. Nè è anteriore al monoteismo: anzi è un riflesso di questo. . . . Nel dualismo sono tutti presenti quegli elementi divini che il monoteismo nega e rinnega, ma presenti in quella forma che è la sola compatibile con l'idea, anch' essa presente, del dio unico: è la forma stessa dell' unicità che dalla sfera del divino passa ad applicarsi al complesso degli elementi anti-divini; onde questi riescono unificati, mentre pur sono negati come divini. Così Anrama(i)nyu non è essenzialmente un *altro* iddio accanto ad Ahura Mazda; è lo stesso Ahura Mazda nella inversione di tutti i suoi valori. Anrama(i)nyu è l'erede e l'esponente di tutti gli dei (*daevas*) del paganesimo politeistico: non è esso stesso un dio tradizionale: è una figura nuova che subentra con la Riforma, sostituendosi a tutte le figure divine della tradizione, è così riducendole ad unità, tutte le rappresenta." For the view that the doctrine of the *gâthâs* is not dualistic cf. A. Meillet: *Trois Conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta*, Paris, 1925, pp. 58 *sqq.* "Les forces mauvaises ne sont rien d'autre que l'inverse des forces bonnes. Moins encore qu'il n'y a un panthéon de forces bonnes, il n'y a un pandémonion de forces mauvaises."

15. On the name Ahriman cf. *E.Z.*, pp. 135-7, 202.

16. Cf. *E.Z.*, p. 134.

17. On Zarathustra's doctrine of evil cf. *E.Z.*, pp. 125-153. The Zoroastrian doctrine is not pro-

pitiation of the Devil: "the faithful Zoroastrian has never had anything to do with Ahriman but to fight him and destroy his creation" (p. 128).

18. On Zoroastrianism as the religion of the peasant in contrast with the nomadic ideal of Israel cf. Ed. Meyer: *op. cit.* (see note 12), p. 62; *E.Z.*, p. 138. For a different view cf. A. Meillet: *Trois Conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta*, Paris, 1925, pp. 66-72: "Ce n'est pas le contraste entre l'agriculteur et le nomade; rein de pareil n'est indiqué par le texte; et l'importance attachée à l'élevage ne caractérisait pas l'agriculteur par rapport au nomade. On est bien plutôt en face de la vieille opposition des riches et des pauvres, des aristocrates guerriers et des cultivateurs. C'est cette opposition qui, seule, rend compte de l'importance dominante attribuée par le zoroastrisme ancien à la doctrine de la rétribution après la mort" [sed?]. Meillet refers to *Anthropologie* for 1924, pp. 297 *sqq.*

19. Cf. Ed. Meyer: *op. cit.* (see note 12), pp. 63-65, 68-70, 75; *E.Z.*, pp. 310-312, and see pp. 158-9. Read A. V. Williams Jackson: *The ancient Persian conception of salvation according to the Avesta, or Bible of Zoroaster*, *American Journal of Theology*, 17 (1913), pp. 195-205.

20. *The Religion of the great Achæmenids.* This is a matter of much doubt: for the evidence of the inscriptions cf. the studies of L. H. Gray and A. V. Williams Jackson in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 21 (1901), pp. 160-184, and see *Encyclopædia*

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of *Religion and Ethics*, I (1908), 69-72. For Cyrus the only direct evidence is that of his cylinder inscription: for a translation cf. G. A. Barton: *Archæology and the Bible*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1917, pp. 385-6, or C. J. Ball: *Light from the East*, 1899, pp. 223-5. For Cyrus cf. Eduard Meyer: *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., 21, 205. On the whole subject read L. C. Casartelli: *The Religion of the Great Kings* (see Bibliographical Note), p. 11; J. H. Moulton: *E.Z.*, pp. 40 *sqq.*; Pettazzoni: *op. cit.* (see note 1), chap. iv.; A. V. Williams Jackson: *The Religion of the Achæmenids* in *Indo-Iranian Studies*, etc., Kegan Paul, 1925 (published 1926), pp. 31-59. While Meillet (*Trois Conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta*, Paris, 1925, p. 25,) considers that there is no justification for concluding that Zoroastrianism was the official faith of the Achæmenid sovrans, Moulton would practically regard all the great Achæmenids as Zoroastrians (so also Carl Clemen: *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion*, Giessen, 1920, pp. 54-77). This far from implausible conclusion [so Berriedale Keith in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 40 (1920), p. 232], so far as concerns Cyrus and Cambyse can, as Eduard Meyer (who would agree with Moulton) admits, in the absence of evidence, be only an inference. Casartelli considers that the faith of the Persian kings must be studied for itself without relation to the creed of the Avesta. Even in the case of Darius, Pettazzoni concludes that the king was indeed a Mazdean, but not an orthodox Zoroastrian, and in this judgment L. H. Gray concurs (*Harvard Theological Review*, 15 [1922], p. 90).

Similarly A. Berriedale Keith considers that from the fact that burial was practised by the Achæmenid sovrans one can only infer that the Magi were unable to enforce their views: cf. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, p. 793. On the recognition by the Achæmenids of the gods of the conquered peoples as manifestations of Ahura cf. A. Causse: *Israël et la Vision de l'Humanité*, Strasbourg, 1924, pp. 31-37.

21. Cf. *E.Z.*, p. 142. Cf. Pettazzoni: *op. cit.* (see note 1), chap. v.

22. *E.Z.*, pp. 231-5. Moulton's theory of the non-Iranian origin of the Magi is not, however, unquestioned: it has been accepted by L. H. Gray (see his article *Some recent studies on the Iranian religions*, *Harvard Theological Review*, 15 [1922], at p. 89), and has been maintained independently by M.S. Zaborowski: *Les Peuples Aryens d'Asie et d'Europe*, Paris, 1908. For a contrary view cf. A. Berriedale Keith: *The Magi*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, at pp. 790-6 and C. Clemen: *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion*, Giessen, 1920, pp. 205-223.

23. *E.Z.*, pp. 193-4.

24. *E.Z.*, p. 118. Moulton considers that there is no reason to postulate a sacerdotal caste in Zarathustra's day (pp. 116-118).

25. *E.Z.*, pp. 152, 221, 301 note.

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26. *E.Z.*, pp. 236-245.

27. *E.Z.*, pp. 210-213, 237. Cf. Pettazzoni : *op. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 161 *sqq.*; H. Gressmann : *Die hellenistische Gestirnreligion* (=Beihefte zum "Alten Orient" : Heft 5), Leipzig, 1925, and see F. Cumont : *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, 1912, chap. i.

28. *E.Z.*, p. 126.

29. *E.Z.*, pp. 123, 226-8. On the Sassanid revival cf. Pettazzoni, *op. cit.* (see note 1), chap. vi. On the stages in the history of the development of Zoroastrianism Gray's summary may be cited (*Harvard Theological Review*, 15 [1922], p. 88) : "The system consists of at least five strata : to the religion of Persis were due aniconism, animal sacrifice, and nature worship (=the system described by Herodotus) ; to extra-Persian pre-Zoroastrianism Mithra, Haoma and other elements common to the Avesta and the Veda ; to the teachings of Zoroaster himself monotheism and war against evil (=the ethical element) ; to Magianism, dualism, exposure of corpses, marriage with near kin, horror of mountains and ritual prescriptions ; to Babylonia, oneiromancy, astrology and certain myths."

30. *E.Z.*, pp. 140-142 and cf. pp. 300-301. Cf. Pettazzoni : *op. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 131 *sqq.*

31. For the absence of Mithra from the *Gâthâs* and the dual conception of the god, cf. *E.Z.*,

pp. 62-67, 139-141, 150, 151. Read Pettazzoni : *op. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 39 *sqq.*, 57-58, 163-169.

32. *E.Z.*, pp. 77-8, 238-240, 271-2. For Anat cf. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 41 (1925), pp. 73-101.

33. Ed. Meyer : *op. cit.* (see note 12), p. 86. For this triad cf. the triad of the Elephantine Papyri (if this is the true interpretation) : Yahu (Jehovah), Ishumbethel and 'Anath-Bethel : see Cowley : *Jewish Documents of the Time of Ezra*, 1919, p. xiii. But cf. I. Scheftelowitz : *Die Bewertung der aramäischen Urkunden von Assuan und Elephantine für die jüdische und iranische Geschichte* (= Scripta Universitatis atque Bibliothecæ Hierosolymitanarum : Orientalia et Judaica, I [1923], 4) at pp. 6-7, who writes " Wir finden keine Spur davon dass die Juden in Assuan und Elephantine neben Jahu . . . auch andere Götter verehrten. Der reine Monotheismus stand fest." He would explain the disputed terms as signifying three forms of voluntary offerings.

34. W. Bousset : *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1906, pp. 548-550 [see quotations in *E.Z.*, pp. 288-9, 319-321], and see now the third edition (edited by H. Gressmann), Tübingen, 1926, pp. 478-483 (issued under the title *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*).

35. *E.Z.*, p. 322.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 322-3.

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37. In this paragraph I have endeavoured with scrupulous accuracy to summarise Moulton's views : of these views Casartelli approved (*Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1913-1914, Manchester, 1914, p. 81). Though a complete "outsider," I cannot, however, suppress my own misgivings. Is it easily credible, human nature being what it is, that Zoroastrians should for half a millennium have awaited the coming of the Magi before they developed a ritual ? May not Moulton's picture of the Magi as "the villains of the piece" need some qualification ?

38. Cf. Ed. Meyer : *op. cit.* (see note 12), pp. 59, 72-3, 87-94 ; Pettazzoni : *op. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 94-98.

39. Cf. Ed. Meyer : *op. cit.* (see note 12), pp. 174 *sqq.* ; H. Wheeler Robinson : *The Old Testament Approach to Life after Death* (= the "Drew" Lecture on Immortality, 1924). The Congregational Quarterly, 3 (1925), pp. 138-151. See also C. F. Burney : *Israel's Hope of Immortality*, Oxford, 1909. For further bibliographical references cf. Gerhard Kittel : *Die Probleme des palästinischen Spätjudentums und das Urchristentum* (= Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, ed. Rudolf Kittel, Dritte Folge, Heft I.), Stuttgart, 1926, p. 77, n. 5.

40. J. Skinner : *Prophecy and Religion*, Cambridge, 1922, p. 14. See Emil Balla : *Der Erlösungsgedanke in der israelitisch-jüdischen Religion*, Ἀγγελος (Leipzig), I (1925), pp. 71-83.

41. Cf. Ed. Meyer: *op. cit.* (see note 12), pp. 106-111.

42. Cf. Charles Guignebert's suggestive essay *Concerning the Devil* in *The Criterion*, 2 (Oct. 1923), pp. 16-30.

43. Contrast the Greco-Roman world where the doctrine of the future general Assize had no place. F. C. Burkitt: *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (=Schweich Lectures 1913), 1914, p. 3. The general conflagration of the Stoics is quite a different thing from the last Judgment: "the Stoic conflagration merely started everything over again, to retread the old circle. Greco-Roman religion, speaking generally, did not see in History the working-out of a Divine Purpose."

44. Cf. W. Caspari: *Die Gottesgestalt in Daniel*, *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 36 (1925), pp. 175-199.

45. A general exposition of Reitzenstein's views will be found in his book *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (Bonn, 1921) where his earlier studies are cited, and in his article *Gedanken zur Entwicklung des Erlöserglaubens*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 126 (1922), 1-57. I am quite incapable of judging Reitzenstein's interpretation of his Mandaean and Manichæan texts, but as a historical student I find it difficult to accept his conclusions so long as the date of these texts is not more securely determined. He himself admits on p. 119 of his book "dass wir überall mit der Möglichkeit einer Einwirkung des

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Judentums und des Christentums auf die neuerschlossenen Urkunden der iranischen Religion rechnen müssen. Überall gilt es zunächst, einen festen Boden für die Untersuchung zu schaffen," and I must confess that I am not convinced that Reitzenstein has discovered any such "solid ground." Those who are intimately acquainted with Alexandrian, Hermetic and Gnostic literature must answer the question whether these texts may not have sprung from the syncretism of a Jewish, Christian and Gnostic environment. This question of the dating of the documents is not adequately discussed in the paper of R. Bultmann: *Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums*, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, etc., 24 (1925), pp. 100-146. Though I am utterly incompetent to form a judgment of any value, I am not convinced by the arguments adduced on pp. 139 *sqq.* Even the bases of Rudolf Kittel's argument in his recent work on *Die hellenistische Mysterienreligion und das Alte Testament* (Berlin 1924) would appear to me insecure: conjecture here plays an embarrassingly large part. The historical student must, I think, for the present suspend judgment. On the general subject cf. a valuable and learned article by J. M. Creed: *The Heavenly Man*, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 26 (1925), pp. 113-136, and cf. A. E. J. Rawlinson: *The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ*, 1926, pp. 122 *sqq.* For an attempt to separate true Iranian material from the syncretistic conceptions common to the Hellenistic East see O. G. von Wesendonk:

Urmensch und Seele in der iranischen Überlieferung: Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte des Hellenismus, Hanover, 1924. I have only just received (December 1926) from Germany and have not as yet had time to study H. H. Schaeder's *Iranische Lehren* in R. Reitzenstein und H. H. Schaeder: *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland*, Leipzig, 1926 (= Studien der Bibliothek Warburg ed. Fritz Saxl.), pp. 203-353, Part 1. *Der Urmensch in der awestischen und mittelpersischen Überlieferung*, Part 2. *Zur manichäischen Urmenschlehre*, Part 3. *Der "Mensch" im Prolog des IV. Evangeliums*. On the particular question of the use made by Jesus of the title "Son of Man" [cf. Reitzenstein in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 126 (1922), in a note on pp. 46-48], Eduard Meyer would find in the apocryphal Book of Enoch the transition from the collective significance of the term in Daniel to its individual meaning (? Messiah) in the Gospels, while others would consider that the term was already individual in meaning in the source which underlies *Daniel*. "With what meaning Jesus Himself used the term it is hard to say. It is an attractive theory that He used it with studied ambiguity": J. M. Creed, *loc. cit.*, p. 136; it has even been doubted whether Jesus used the term at all [cf. *Journal of Religion*, 2, 1922, 501-511; 3, 1923, 308-313]. Here there are two problems: (i) Is the term "Son of Man" used in the Book of Enoch in an individual sense? Nils Messel's desperate attempt to prove that in the genuine passages of the Book of Enoch the word always bears a collective sense, as in Daniel (*Der Menschensohn in den Bilderreden des*

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Henoch, Giessen, 1922), has been, in my judgment, rightly rejected by B. Motzo *Saggi di Storia e Letteratura Giudeo-Elleistica*, Florence, 1924, chap. i.

(ii) What is the date of the "Son of Man" passages in the Book of Enoch? If these are to be dated under the Roman procurators of Judea—so Messel and Motzo—then we may be thrown back upon Psalm lxxx. 17 for the source of the Gospel usage [cf. Martin Wagner: *Der Menschensohn*, Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, 36 (1925), pp. 245-278]. Daniel Völter in *Die Menschensohn-Frage neu untersucht*, Leiden, 1916, argued that wherever the term "Son of Man" is used in the Gospels in an apocalyptic sense it is a late insertion: the genuine passages are reminiscences of the use of the term in Ezekiel, especially Ezekiel iii. 4-6, and chap. xxxiv., particularly verses 4, 12, 16. I here only reproduce the arguments of the critics, but the historical student may well have his doubts of their cogency: underlying many of these discussions one seems to trace the unjustifiable assumption that we are fully in possession of all the relevant literature of the period—the rediscovery of one hitherto unknown apocalypse might overthrow many of these elaborate hypotheses as though it were a house of cards; and further these critics will persist in treating apocalyptic as though it were a logical construction which rigorously excluded inconsistency: in the thought world of an apocalypse a single conception can in one and the same composition assume many varied forms; thus "it is clear that in the mind of the final editor of the Book [of Enoch] the Son of Man, the Son of God, the Lion and the Messiah are all somehow identified with one

another." A. E. J. Rawlinson: *The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ* (Bampton Lectures for 1926), p. 15; while finally "it cannot be too strongly emphasised that there was no generally accepted opinion, no organised and consistent teaching, above all no orderly Messianic doctrine possessing the faintest shadow of authority. The thing itself was of faith, all the rest was free field for the imagination." Cf. the whole chapter on *Christology* by F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. I. 1920, pp. 345 *sqq.* (the quotation can be found at p. 356). It will be sufficient here to refer to a few recent studies on the use of the term cf. G. Dupont: *Le Fils de l'Homme*, Paris, 1924; G. Baldensperger: *Le Fils de l'Homme*, *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 5 (1925), pp. 262-273; Joseph Klausner: *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1925, pp. 256-7 and see A. E. J. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Index *s.v.* Son of Man. With Eduard Meyer's suggestion of a Zoroastrian origin for the term in Daniel, cf. Moulton: *E.Z.*, p. 302, n., and p. 310, and cf. the conclusion of H. P. Smith: "We must conclude that direct Mazdean influence on Daniel is slight," *The Origin of the Messianic Hope in Israel*, *American Journal of Theology*, 14 (1910), pp. 337-360 at pp. 358-360. See further for the completely independent development of Jewish thought the elaborate work of N. Messel: *Die Einheitlichkeit der jüdischen Eschatologie* (= 30 Beiheft of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*), Giessen, 1915.—For a brief general study of the subject of this section see John A. Maynard: *Judaism and Mazdayasna, A Study in Dissimilarities*, *Journal of Biblical Literature*,

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44 (1925), pp. 163-170, and cf. the far-reaching conclusion of Gray: "the debt was not that of Judaism to Iranism, but the reverse. It was the Jews who taught Zoroastrianism its monotheism; the Messianic concept was borrowed by Iran from Israel; the figure of Satan and the doctrines of immortality and the fall were genuinely Jewish. . . . To this list the doctrine of angels and archangels may be added; the concept seems to me too genuinely Hebraic to be explained away merely by *argumenta e silentio*": *Harvard Theological Review*, 15 (1922), p. 89. This conclusion, of course, implies the acceptance of Pettazzoni's argument for the late date of Zoroaster. It is a humiliating confession, but I have found J. Scheftelowitz's *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum* (Giessen, 1920) almost unreadable. For some bibliographical references to works which I have not been able to consult cf. Gerhard Kittel: *op. cit.* (see note 39), p. 77, n. 1.

46. For other suggested borrowings from Iranian sources in the Book of Daniel cf. Eduard Meyer: *op. cit.* (see note 12), pp. 189 ff., and H. P. Smith, *loc. cit.* (see note 45), pp. 358 f. For possible Zoroastrian influences on the eschatology of Trito-Isaiah cf. Causse in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 2 (1922), note on pp. 497-8.

47. Cf. *E.Z.*, p. 325.

48. Cf. *E.Z.*, pp. 246-253, 332-340, but note Casartelli's dissent from Moulton's theory, *E.Z.*, p. 253, while A. Berriedale Keith holds that there was no Magian original for the book of Tobit: cf. *Journal*

of the *Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, p. 795. For the place of composition of Tobit cf. W. O. E. Oesterley: *The Books of the Apocrypha*, 1914, pp. 366-8, "between Palestine and Egypt" (probably in Egypt): by a Babylonian Jew, according to C. C. Torrey, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 41 (1922), pp. 237-245.

49. Cf. Luke x. 20. We badly need a good study of the whole subject. J. Tamborino's *De Antiquorum dæmonismo* (Giessen 1909) is inadequate. For a brief paper on *The Dæmon Environment of the Primitive Christian*, by T. R. Glover, see Hibbert Journal for October 1912.

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NORMAN BENTWICH: *Hellenism* (in the Series *Movements in Judaism*), Philadelphia, 1919, is a readable general introduction to the period, but perhaps B. H. Alford's two little books *Old Testament History and Literature*, 1910 (down to 135 B.C.), and *Jewish History and Literature under the Maccabees and Herod*, 1913, or C. F. Kent's volume on *The Babylonian, Persian and Greek Periods*, and J. S. Riggs's on *The Maccabean and Roman Period* (in the Historical Series for Bible Students published by Smith Elder & Co., London) will be more accessible for the

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English student. The most attractive introduction to the period for the general reader is still perhaps E. Bevan's *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, 1904. A short sketch of the history of this period has just appeared under the title *From Babylon to Bethlehem*, by L. E. Browne, Cambridge, 1926.

On the Apocrypha the best book for the English student is W. O. E. Oesterley's *The Books of the Apocrypha, Their Origin, Teaching and Contents*, 1914. For the translation of the Apocrypha the essential work is now Vol. I. of R. H. Charles: *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913.

Of the Apocalyptic literature the standard collection in an English translation is Vol. II. of the work of Charles just cited; but this is very expensive, and more serviceable for students is the admirable series of translations published by the S.P.C.K.—*Translations of Early Documents: First Series: Palestinian-Jewish and Cognate Texts. Second Series: Hellenistic Jewish Texts*. (See the Catalogue of the S.P.C.K.). They have also published W. J. Ferrar: *The Uncanonical Jewish Books: A Short Introduction, to the Apocrypha and other Jewish Writings*, 200 B.C.-A.D. 100, 1918, and M. R. James: *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament: their Titles and Fragments*, 1920.

The best introduction to the reading of the *Apocalyptic Literature* known to me (on which my paragraph in the text is based) is F. C. Burkitt: *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (=Schweich Lectures 1913), 1914, or more briefly in his lecture *The Apocalypses: their place in Jewish History* in the volume *Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity*.

(Routledge) [1924]. See also Frank C. Porter: *The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers*, 1905. Further the ideas of the apocalyptic literature may be studied in R. H. Charles: *Religious Development between the Old and the New Testaments* (Home University Library), 1914. For more detailed study see H. J. Wicks: *The Doctrine of God in the Jewish Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature*, 1915. There is an interesting symposium on eschatology in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 41 (1922), Parts 1-2, and on the Jewish thought of the period cf. Thomas Walker: *The Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of His Age*, 1923, or in a shorter and more popular form *What Jesus Read*, 1925.

For the one apocalyptic book included among the Canonical Scriptures—the Book of Daniel—there is a delightful little introduction in E. B. Hooper's *Daniel and the Maccabees* [1918 ?] and cf. A. Bertholet's short study *Daniel und die griechische Gefahr*, Tübingen, 1907.

For the whole period cf. W. Bousset's *Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1906, which has now appeared in a third edition under the title *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, Tübingen, 1926. I have made constant use of Ed. Meyer's *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, vol. 2, Stuttgart, 1921. I have not yet been able to study L. Dennefeld's *Le judaïsme biblique*, Paris, 1925.

1. See D. G. Hogarth: *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, 1897; J. P. Mahaffy: *Alexander's Empire*, 1890. On the characteristics of the three

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empires, W. S. Ferguson: *Greek Imperialism*, 1913, chaps. 5, 6 and 7; for the Antigonid kingdom in the third century cf. W. W. Tarn: *Antigonos Gonatas*, Oxford, 1913.

2. Read the whole poem in R. H. Charles: *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913, Vol. 1, pp. 507-511 and cf. Ed. Meyer: *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, 2, Stuttgart, 1921, pp. 10-12.

3. See R. H. Charles: *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 322.

4. Cf. Ed. Meyer: *op. cit.*, pp. 15-17; G. F. Moore: *The Rise of the Normative Judaism*, Harvard Theological Review, 17 (1924), pp. 332-333, 18 (1925), pp. 1-38.

5. G. F. Moore: *op. cit.*, p. 336.

6. See Leo Fuchs: *Die Juden Aegyptens in ptolemäischer und römischer Zeit*, Vienna, 1924, or (very briefly) in W. M. Flinders Petrie: *The Status of the Jews in Egypt* (=Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture, 1922).

7. See W. W. Tarn: *Alexander's ὑπομνήματα and the "World-Kingdom,"* Journal of Hellenic Studies, 41 (1921), pp. 1-17, in criticism of Kaerst. "So far as positive evidence goes, the idea of Alexander's world-kingdom has nothing to do with history; it belongs solely to the realm of legend and romance," but cf. J. B. Bury in *The Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 7-9.

8. Cf. J. B. Bury : *ibid.*, pp. 26-30 : "It was Zeno who first taught men to think in terms of the œcumene," p. 30. For the development of universalism in Jewish thought the best study known to me is that of A. Causse : *Israël et la Vision de l'Humanité*, Strasbourg, 1924. Cf. in particular on the Book of Jonah, pp. 88-98, and see *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 2 (1922), pp. 465-498.

9. Cf. E. Bevan : *Stoics and Sceptics*, Oxford, 1913, Lecture 1.

10. W. W. Tarn : *Antigonos Gonatas*, Oxford, 1913, chap. 8.

11. See the admirable discussion of the indebtedness of Ecclesiastes to Greek thinkers in H. Ranston : *Ecclesiastes and the early Greek Wisdom Literature*, 1925. The citation is from pp. 149-150. See further A. Causse : *Introduction à l'étude de la sagesse juive*, *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 1 (1921), pp. 45-60.

12. From the delightful little book *Ecclesiastes rendered into English verse* by F. Crawford Burkitt, 1922. Every student should beg, borrow or steal this volume : it can easily be "conveyed," for it slips into a pocket !

13. *Antiquitates Judaicæ* : Book 12, §§160 sqq. Cf. Ed. Meyer : *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, 2, pp. 133-136.

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14. G. F. Moore (see note 4 *supra*), p. 334.
Posidonios Frag. 18, Müller, Frag. Historicorum
Græcorum, 3, p. 258.

15. Cf. Ed. Meyer (see note 2 *supra*), pp. 139-
143.

16. I should wish that this outline of the political history should be regarded as a provisional sketch; in my narrative I have throughout striven to avoid all elaboration and to write as tersely as possible. Modern scholars have come to no agreed conclusions in their criticism of the First and Second Books of the Maccabees and of the account of the period given by Josephus. A student who has attempted to master the discussions of the sources which have appeared during recent years may be excused for feeling somewhat dizzy. I shall here only give a list of the more important works in their chronological order.

A. Schlatter : *Jason von Kyrene*, Greifswald, 1891.

B. Niese : *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten*, Gotha, 1893-1903.

Idem. : *Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher nebst Beiträgen zur Geschichte der Makkabäischen Erhebung*, Hermes, 35 (1900), pp. 268-307, 453-527.

R. Laqueur : *Kritische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Makkabäerbuch*, Strassburg, 1904.

J. Wellhausen : *Über den geschichtlichen Wert des zweiten Makkabäerbuchs im Verhältnis zum ersten*, Nachrichten d. kön. Gesellschaft d.

Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1905, pp. 117 ff.

Otto Roth: *Rom und die Hasmonäer: Untersuchungen zu den jüdisch-römischen Urkunden im ersten Makkabäerbuche und in Josephus' jüdischen Altertümern xiv.*, Leipzig, 1914.

W. Schubart: *Bemerkungen zum Stile hellenistischer Königsbriefe*, Archiv. für Papyrusforschung, 6 (1920), 324 ff.

Ed. Meyer: *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, 2, Stuttgart, 1921.

F. X. Kugler: *Von Moses bis Paulus*, Münster, 1922.

B. Motzo: *Saggi di Storia e Letteratura Giudeo-Elleistica* (=Contributi alla Scienza dell' Antichità, ed. De Sanctis and Pareti, vol. 5), Firenze, 1924.

H. Willrich: *Urkundenfälschung in der hellenistisch-jüdischen Literatur* (=Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments N.F. Heft 21), Göttingen, 1924.

W. Kolbe: *Beiträge zur syrischen und jüdischen Geschichte*, Berlin, 1926.

A reference may be added to F. M. Abel: *Topographie des campagnes Machabéennes*, Revue Biblique, 32 (1923), pp. 495-521; 33 (1924), pp. 201-217, 371-387; 34 (1925), pp. 195-216; 35 (1926), pp. 206-222, pp. 510-533.

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17. The identification was made by Meyer : for the date cf. Kolbe (see note 16), pp. 101-102.

18. For the date cf. Niese : *Hermes* (cf. note 16), pp. 502 ff.

19. *Μυσάρχης* = general of a regiment of Mysians, cf. Ed. Meyer : *op. cit.*, 2, p. 157, n. 3.

20. For the date Kolbe : *op. cit.* (see note 16), pp. 96-101.

21. On the character of this war cf. Kolbe, *op. cit.* (see note 16), p. 155, and on the numbers engaged in the operations of 164 B.C., *ibid.*, p. 157 (as against Meyer who accepts the figures given by the Jewish source).

22. Cf. Kolbe : *op. cit.* (see note 16), pp. 49, 77-79.

23. R. Kittel has suggested that in both cases the date 25 Kislev (December) was chosen because on that day it was customary to celebrate the Festival of the New Year. *Die hellenistische Mysterienreligion und das Alte Testament*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 18-21. But had Zeus Olympios any connection with such a festival ?

24. I would warn the reader expressly that I here adopt the view of Kolbe that the two campaigns of Lysias mentioned in the Books of the Maccabees are only duplicate accounts of one and the same

campaign. For the statement of a different estimate of the sources cf. *e.g.*, B. Motzo : *Saggi di Storia e Letteratura Giudeo-Ellenistica*, I (Florence 1924), chap. 5.

25. G. F. Moore : *op. cit.* (see note 4), p. 344.

26. *Idem.* : *ibid.*, pp. 339-340.

27. Cf. R. H. Charles : *Religious Development between the Old and the New Testaments* (= Home University Library), 1914, pp. 77-78. Contrast, however, S. Mowinckel : *Psalmstudien*, 2, Christiania, 1922, p. 303, and on the 110th Psalm cf. A. Causse : *Les plus vieux chants de la Bible*, Paris, 1926, pp. 160 *sqq.* He notes that the priestly dignity was not the exclusive possession of the Hasmoneans : it was possessed by the ancient kings of Israel and Judah. "Quant à l'acrostiche du nom de Simon que certains critiques, tels que Duhm et Charles, ont cru découvrir dans les quatres premiers versets, c'est une hypothèse assurément ingénieuse, mais assez peu probable ; et pour la rendre vraisemblable Duhm doit considérer la dernière strophe 5 à 7 comme interpolée, ce qui est bien de l'exégèse à coups de ciseaux," *op. cit.*, p. 162, n. 1. Whether there are contained in the Psalter any "Maccabean" psalms is a disputed question : "I am convinced that there are no Maccabean psalms whatsoever in the Davidic Psalter : it had been completed long before the middle of the second century B.C.," cf. H. Gressmann in *The Psalmists*, Oxford, 1926, at pp. 9-10, 13-15, and Moses Bittenwieser : *Are there any Maccabean*

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Psalms? *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 36 (1917), pp. 225-248: "It is to be questioned whether there are any psalms dating later than the middle of the 3rd century B.C." On the other hand on a proposed Maccabean dating for Psalm lxviii. cf. G. H. Box in *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. 100 (1925), pp. 324 f.

28. R. H. Charles: *ibid.*

29. Testament of Levi viii.

30. Burkitt.

31. *Pharisees and Sadducees*. In view of the complete failure of scholars to come to any general agreement on the origin, character and aims of the movements within Judaism represented by the Pharisees and Sadducees I have not attempted to deal with the subject in the text of my little book. Fortunately the theme is hardly relevant for my purpose and in view of the limitations of space any statement would perforce be in form dogmatic and here, if anywhere, dogmatism is out of place. The views of modern scholars are fully discussed in the useful work of J. W. Lightley: *Jewish Sects and Parties in the Time of Christ*, 1925, which contains (pp. 398-405) an admirable bibliography. To that bibliography should now be added G. F. Moore: *The Rise of Normative Judaism*, Harvard Theological Review (see note 4 *supra*), and Moses Gaster: *The Samaritans* (=Schweich Lectures 1923), 1925, pp. 51-65. Gaster is convinced that the difference between the Sadducees and the Pharisees was not one of religious conception, of interpretation of the text of the Bible or of its strict application:

the Sadducees and the Pharisees alike were not sects, but *political parties*: it was on *political* fundamentals that they were divided: the Sadducean party, represented by the priests, wished to retain its political prerogative and power, not only for the present, but also for the future, while the other, the Phariseean, represented by the lay scholars, wished to separate the spiritual from the temporal power, and to take the latter out of the hands of the priesthood. (For the view of the Pharisees as a *religious* sect cf. Lightley: pp. 56 *sqq.*). See further Ed. Meyer: *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, 2, pp. 282-305. For a criticism of R. T. Herford: *The Pharisees*, 1924, cf. B. S. Easton in the *Anglican Theological Review*, 7 (1925), pp. 423-437. For the work of the Pharisees cf. further R. T. Herford: *What the World owes to the Pharisees* (=the Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture 1919), 1919.

32. See the valuable study of G. F. Moore quoted in note 4 *supra*.

33. F. C. Burkitt: *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (=Schweich Lectures 1913), 1914, p. 5.

34. See the bibliographical note.

35. J. H. Moulton: *Early Zoroastrianism*, 1913, p. 154.

36. Borrowed from F. C. Burkitt in *Judaism and the beginnings of Christianity*, chap. ii., Routledge (1924 ?): *The Apocalypses: their Place in Jewish History*. See further H. T. Andrews: *The Message of Jewish Apocalyptic for Modern Times*, Expositor, 8th Series, 14 (1917), pp. 58-71.

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37. For Daniel cf. the bibliographical note.

38. If Eduard Meyer's dating of the *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (for an English translation of these see R. H. Charles : *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913, 2, pp. 785-834) be accepted : see his study *Die Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes im Lande Damaskus*, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1919, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Nr. 9, Berlin 1919 (and separately). But the date may well be too early : cf. Gustav Hölscher : *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, Giessen, 1922, p. 189, and W. Staerk : *Die jüdische Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes in Damaskus* (= Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, ed. Schlatter and Lütgert 27, Heft 3), Gütersloh, 1922. This contains a translation, a good bibliography of the discussion, and a criticism of Meyer's dating.

39. "Regarding the Jewish belief of the immortality of the soul, there can be no doubt that for this the Jews were indebted mainly to Hellenism," see W. O. E. Oesterley : *The Books of the Apocrypha*, 1914, pp. 38-39. It is with great hesitation that I differ from Dr Oesterley, but see the admirable pages in R. Kittel : *Die hellenistische Mysterien-religion und das Alte Testament*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 84-93, and see further A. Causse : *Les "Pauvres" d'Israël*, Strasbourg, 1922, pp. 131-135, and generally H. Wheeler Robinson's Drew Lecture on Immortality, 1924, *The Old Testament approach to Life after Death*, The Congregational Quarterly, 3 (1925), pp. 138-151. For the argument that Ezekiel possessed a *personal*

faith in a resurrection of the dead, cf. W. Emery Barnes : *Ezekiel's Vision of a Resurrection*, Expositor, 8th Series, 14 (1917), pp. 290-297.

40. P. Wendland : *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, 2nd ed., Tübingen, 1912, pp. 212-213.

41. *Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity* (see note 36 *supra*), p. 81, cf. *The Assumption of Moses*, by W. J. Ferrar and *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, by R. H. Charles (English translation in one volume, S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d.).

42. Cf. Victor Ehrenberg : *Alexander und Ägypten* (= Beihefte zum "Alten Orient," Heft 7) Leipzig, 1926.

43. Cf. Emil Schürer : *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 4th ed., Leipzig, 1909, 3, pp. 545 *sqq.*; and see in general I. G. Matthews : *The Jewish Apologetic to the Grecian World in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Literature*, University of Chicago Dissertation, 1914; A. Causse : *La propagande juive et l'hellénisme*, *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 3 (1923), pp. 397-414, and his *Israël et la Vision de l'Humanité*, Strasbourg, 1924.

44. H. N. Bate : *The Sibylline Oracles, Books III-V*, 1918 (in *Translations of Early Documents Series II, Hellenistic-Jewish Texts*, published by the S.P.C.K.), pp. 18-19.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

46. Cf. J. Geffcken in *Neue Jahrbuecher für Philologie*, etc., 11 (1903), pp. 550-568, and *Zwei*

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griechische Apologeten, Leipzig, 1907, in his introduction.

47. The significance of the Septuagint is admirably outlined by Ad. Deissmann in *Die Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus*, Neue Jahrbuecher, etc., II (1903), pp. 161-177, and cf. G. Bertram: *Septuaginta und Urchristentum* in *Theologische Blätter*, 4 (1925), coll. 208-213.

XI

EPILOGUE

I. Cf. A. Causse: *Les "Pauvres" d'Israel*, Strasbourg, Librairie Istria, 1922, and see an interesting paper on popular Messianism by F. C. Grant: *The Economic Significance of Messianism*, Anglican Theological Review, 6 (Dec. 1923), pp. 196-213; 7 (Dec. 1924), pp. 281-9; cf. C. Ryder Smith: *The Social Teaching of the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Books*, Expository Times, 37 (1926), pp. 505-8. The work of Joachim Jeremias: *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu* (I Teil, *Die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse* [Leipzig, 1923]; II, *Die sozialen Verhältnisse: A. Reich und arm*; the further parts have not yet appeared) may find a mention here, although in strictness the subject lies beyond the scope of this book, and cf. Mordecai Katz: *Protection of the Weak in the Talmud* (= Columbia University Oriental Studies, vol. xxiv.), New York, 1925.

ADDENDA

- P. 172. G. A. Barton's *Archaeology and the Bible* has now appeared in a 4th edition. Philadelphia, 1925, \$3.50.
- Pp. 175 sqq. Two small popular works by A. Jirku may be added to the Bibliography: *Das Alte Testament im Rahmen der altorientalischen Kulturen*. Quelle & Meyer. Leipzig, 1926, M. 1.80.
Der Kampf um Syrien-Palästina im orientalischen Altertum (—Der Alte Orient, Bd. 25, Heft 4). Leipzig, 1926, M. 1.20.
 Mention may also be made of R. Kittel: *Gestalten und Gedanken in Israel; Geschichte eines Volkes in Charakterbildern*. Quelle & Meyer. Leipzig, 1925, M. 16.
 Two new volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History* have appeared: vol. v. *Athens, 478-401 B.C.*, and vol. vi. *Macedon, 401-301 B.C.*, together with a volume of plates to illustrate vols. i-iv.
- P. 176. For early Babylonian culture add E. Unger: *Sumerische und Akkadische Kunst*. Hirt. Breslau, 1926.
- P. 179. A. Erman's book is now translated: *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*. Methuen, 1927, 21s.
- P. 180. Huart's book is now translated: *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilisation*, Kegan, Paul, etc., 1927.
- P. 182. On recent excavations in Palestine see S. A. Cook: *Expository Times* 37 (1926), pp. 478-492.
 Gressmann's book has appeared in a second edition under the title *Altorientalische Bilder Zum Alten Testament*. De Gruyter & Co., Berlin, 1927, M. 38 or 40.
- P. 183. For the study of the Pentateuch see the article *Pentateuch* by S. A. Cook in vol. viii. of the new edition (1926) of *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*.
- P. 192 sf. On traditions add L. E. Lord: *The Historical Value of Tradition*, *Classical Journal*, 19 (1923), pp. 264-281; H. W. Hertzberg: *Die Tradition in Palästina*, *Palästinajahrbuch*, 22 (1926), pp. 84-104.
- P. 193. n.3. On Genesis xi. 26-32 cf. U. Cassuto: *Giornale della Societa asiatica italiana* N.S. 1, Fasc. 3 (1926) 193-215 (the passage a unity).

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- P. 194. n. 7. For the last season's excavations at Ur cf. *Illustrated London News* for 11th June 1927 and see the forthcoming October number of *The Antiquaries Journal*.
The report of the British Museum and the Philadelphia Museum's excavations at Ur has just been published: *Ur Excavations*, vol. i. *Al-'Ubaid*, Oxford University Press, 1927, £3, 3s.; by H. R. Hall and G. L. Woolley, with chapters by C. J. Gadd and Sir Arthur Keith.
- P. 195. n. 10. For a recent rejection of the identification Habiru = Hebrews cf. P. Dhorme: *Les Habiru et les Hébreux*, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 4 (1924), pp. 162-8.
- P. 196. n. 11. Cf. W. F. Albright: *The Historical Background of Genesis xiv.*, *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, 10 (1926), pp. 231-269.
- P. 198. n. 16. On Nomadism and the wilderness wandering: Ellsworth Huntington: *The Pulse of Progress*, New York, 1926: especially ch. 13.
- P. 199. n. 19. For the recently published additional fragments of the Amarna Tablets, cf. P. Dhorme: *Revue Biblique*, 33 (1924), pp. 1-32; A. Alt: *Palästinajahr buch*, 20 (1924), pp. 22-41.
- P. 200. Cf. W. F. Albright: *Egypt and Palestine in the Third Millennium B.C.* in the Sellin-Festschrift, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 1-12.
- P. 201. But for the translation of Merenptah's stele cf. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. 3 (1926), p. 282.
- P. 206. For the Mosaic origin of the Decalogue cf. J. Herrmann: *Das zehnte Gebot* in the Sellin-Festschrift, Leipzig 1927, pp. 69-82. Mention may also be made of S. Mowinckel's article *L'origine du Décalogue*, *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 6 1926, pp. 105-126 (à suivre) where an attempt is made to explain the form of the Decalogue by reference to the cultus of the autumn festival.
- P. 207 med. Add S. A. B. Mercer: *The Religion of Ikhnaton*, *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, 10 (1926), pp. 14-33.
- P. 211. Add E. Cuq: *Les lois Hittites*, *Revue historique du droit français*, etc., July-September 1924, pp. 373-435; G. Furlani: *Di una raccolta di leggi hittite*, *Archivio Guiridico* (Modena), Ser. 4, vol. 6, Fasc. 2, 1923, and cf. P. Ducros: *De la Vendetta à la loi du talion*, *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses* 6 (1926), pp. 350-365.
- P. 212 at foot. Puukko's paper (which I have now seen) is valuable.
- P. 213. Cf. F. Nötscher's Habilitationsvortrag *Kanaan vor der israelitischen Einwanderung, hauptsächlich nach den ausser-biblischen Quellen*, *Theologie und Glaube*, 18 (1926), pp. 533-549.
- P. 215. n. 12. Cf. A. Jirku: *Materialien zur Volksreligion Israels*, Leipzig, 1914.

ADDENDA

- P. 220. n. 16. For the excavations at Shechem see *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins*, 49 (1926), pp. 229-236. Cf. K. Gabling: *Der Bautypus des Palasttores im Alten Testament und das Palasttor von Sichem* in the Sellin-Festschrift, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 49-53. For the suggestion that Shechem was the religious and political capital of early Israel cf. S. Landersdorfer: *Das Priesterkönigtum von Salem*, Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, 9 (1925), pp. 203-216.
- P. 222. n. 8. Add Dalman: *Durch die ägyptische Wüste nach Palästina*, Palästinajahrbuch, 20 (1924), pp. 41-68.
- P. 224. n. 15. Add A. Alt: *Zur Geschichte von Beth-Sean 1500-1000 v. Chr.* Palästinajahrbuch, 22 (1926) pp. 108-120. Cf. Sellin-Festschrift, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 83, 84.
See Alan Rowe: *The Discoveries at Beth-Shan during the 1926 Season*. The Museum Journal, Philadelphia, March 1927, pp. 9-46 (fully illustrated).
- Pp. 224, 225. To the Bibliography add L. Rost: *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids* (—Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, Folge 3, Heft 6), Stuttgart, 1926 and M. Lurje: *Studien zur Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse im israelitisch-jüdischen Reiche von der Einwanderung in Kanaan bis zum babylonischen Exil* (—Beiheft 45 of the Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft), Giessen, 1927.
- P. 231. n. 16. Cf. R. P. Dougherty: *Cuneiform Parallels to Solomon's Provisioning System* Annual of American Schools of Oriental Research, 5 (1925), pp. 23-65.
- P. 233. Cf. S. A. B. Mercer: *Old Testament and other Oriental Wisdom*, Anglican Theological Review, 6 (1923), pp. 118-123; F. Ll. Griffith: *The Teaching of Amenophis the Son of Kanakht*. Papyrus B.M. 10474. Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 12 (1926), pp. 191-239; D. C. Simpson: *The Hebrew Book of Proverbs and the Teaching of Amenophis*, *ibid.*, pp. 232-9. See also R. H. Pfeiffer: *Edomitic Wisdom*, Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, N.F. 3 (1926), pp. 13-25.
- P. 235. Egypt and Hebrew Eschatology: Egyptian influence denied by G. Hölscher: *Die Ursprünge der jüdischen Eschatologie*, Giessen, 1925, pp. 10, 11.
- P. 243. n. 12. The full title of the German translation of Kuenen's book is *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*.
- P. 246. Hölscher (see addendum to p. 235) argues against the derivation of Hebrew eschatology either from Egyptian or Babylonian sources; he would find its roots in *cultus* and develops and adapts the views of Mowinkel (in his *Psalmstudien* II.). For the New Year Festival cf. H. Zimmern: *Das babylonische Neujahrsfest*—Der Alte Orient, vol. 25, Heft 3, Leipzig, 1926.

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- P. 249. See now L. L. Honor : *Sennacherib's Invasion of Palestine ; a critical source study* (=Contributions to Oriental History and Philology, No. 12) Columbia University Press, 1926.
- P. 254. On Deuteronomy as the " Book of the Law " of Josiah's reign cf. K. Budde : *Das Deuteronomium und die Reform König Josias*, Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, N.F. 3 (1926), pp. 177-224, and for the reform movements which lie behind Deuteronomy see H. Gressmann : *Vorläufer des Deuteronomiums*, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, 29 (1926), coll. 779-782. For Deuteronomy xii. 5 cf. W. Caspari : *Textkritische Beleuchtung eines Ausgangspunktes der Auseinandersetzungen über das Deuteronomium* in the Sellin-Festschrift. Leipzig, 1927, pp. 25-35 and W. Staerk : *Noch einmal das Problem des Deuteronomiums*, *ibid.* pp. 139-150. See further Wiener : *The Arrangement of Deuteronomy*, Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, 6 (1926), pp. 185-195.
- P. 260. n. 25. Cf. W. W. Cannon : *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. 3 (1926), pp. 63, 64.
- P. 268. n. 26. For the view that the retirement of Nabonidus to Arabia was practically an abdication and that Belshazzar was the " roi effectif," see H. de Genouillac in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 22 (1925), pp. 71-83.
- P. 269. For this section add G. Hölscher : *Les origines de la communauté juive à l'époque perse*, *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 6 (1926), pp. 105-126. To the references to Touzard's article add 1927, pp. 5-24, 161-191.
- P. 269. n. 2. Add a reference to Sidney Smith : *Babylonian Historical Texts*, etc., 1924, p. 118.
- P. 271 top. The full title of Kennett's paper is *The History of the Jewish Church from Nebuchadnezzar to Alexander the Great*.
- P. 274. Add to Bibliography A. Christensen : *Quelques notices sur les plus anciennes périodes de Zoroastrisme*, *Acta Orientalia*, 4 (1925), pp. 81-115 (Leiden).
- P. 283. n. 20. For the view that all the great Achaemenid kings from Cyrus onwards were Zoroastrians cf. R. Kittel : *Die Religion der Achämeniden* in the Sellin-Festschrift, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 87-99.
- P. 293 top. Cf. C. G. Montefiore : *The Synoptic Gospels*, 2nd edn., 1927, vol. 1, Introduction, pp. cxxxi-iii.
- P. 294. n. 46. For Persian influence on Jewish eschatology cf. A. von Gall : *Basileia tou Theou. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie zur vorkirchlichen Eschatologie*. Heidelberg, 1926.
- P. 295. n. 49. Cf. A. Jirku : *Die Dämonen und ihre Abwehr im Alten Testament*, Leipzig, 1912.

ADDENDA

- P. 296. See S. H. Mellone, *The Apocrypha: its Story and Messages*, Lindsey Press, 1927, 2s. 6d.
- P. 297. Add to Bibliography *Vorträge des Institutum Judaicum an der Universität Berlin; Jahrgang I., Entwicklungsstufen der jüdischen Religion*, Giessen, 1927. 1. I. Elbogen: *Esra und das nachexilische Judentum* pp. 13-26, 2. J. Bergmann: *Das Judentum in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 27-42. C. G. Montefiore (see addendum to p. 293), pp. ci-cxvi.
- P. 300. n. 15. For city foundations of the Seleucids see V. Tscherikower: *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit*, Leipzig, 1927. [Cf. *Historische Zeitschrift* 136 (1927), p. 177.]
- P. 301 s.f. Add I. Abrahams: *Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great* (=Schweich Lectures 1922), 1927, Lectures I. and II.
- P. 306. n. 38. For the view that the work is the product of a rigorous Pharisaic school of the time of Herod cf. Herbert Preisker: *Zum Streit um die Geniza-Texte der jüdischen Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes in Dasmaskus*, Theologische Studien und Kritiken. 98-99 (1926), pp. 295-318.
- P. 306 n. 39. Cf. W. Caspari: *Tod und Auferstehung nach der Enderwartung des späteren Judentums*, Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, 10 (1926), pp. 1-13. I have not yet seen G. Quell: *Die Auffassung des Todes in Israel*, Leipzig, 1925.
- P. 307. n. 40. Cf. G. Kittel: *Urchristentum, Spätjudentum, Hellenismus* (Antrittsvorlesung), Stuttgart, 1926.
- P. 307. n. 42. Add W. Schubart: *Die Griechen in Ägypten* (=Beihefte zum Alten Orient, Heft 10), Leipzig, 1927.
- Lastly, the student may be referred to D. D. Luckenbill: *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*. University of Chicago Press, 2 vols., 1926-7, £2—an admirable translation of the Assyrian and Babylonian historical texts, and for the religions of the ancient world to A. Bertholet and E. Lehmann's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, Mohr, Tübingen, 1925, 2 vols.

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POSTSCRIPT TO SECOND EDITION

- P. 174. R. Kittel: *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. iii., part 1. Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1927.
- P. 176. S. Smith: *Early History of Assyria to 1000 B.C.* Chatto & Windus, 1928.
- P. 184. On Hebrew religion cf. E. G. Kraeling: *The Real Religion of Ancient Israel*, Journal of Biblical Literature, 47 (1928),

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- pp. 135-159; P. Humbert: *Le génie d'Israel*, Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses, 7 (1927), pp. 493-515. Useful bibliography for years 1918 to 1924 in Journal of Society of Oriental Research, 11 (1927), pp. 47-70.
- P. 186. On Hebrew Monotheism: cf. Vernon F. Storr: *From Abraham to Christ*. Hodder & Stoughton, 1928.
- P. 187. C. C. Keet: *A Liturgical Study of the Psalter*. Allen & Unwin, 1928. On the origins of the Psalter cf. A. Causse in Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses, 6 (1926), pp. 1-37.
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